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RANCE:

The Lays *Gugemar, Lanval* and a fragment of *Yonec*

With a study of the life and work of the author

By
JULIAN HARRIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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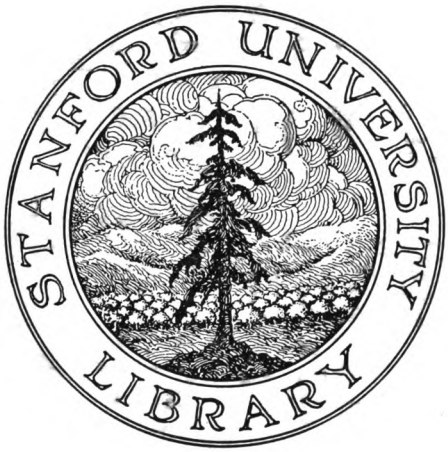

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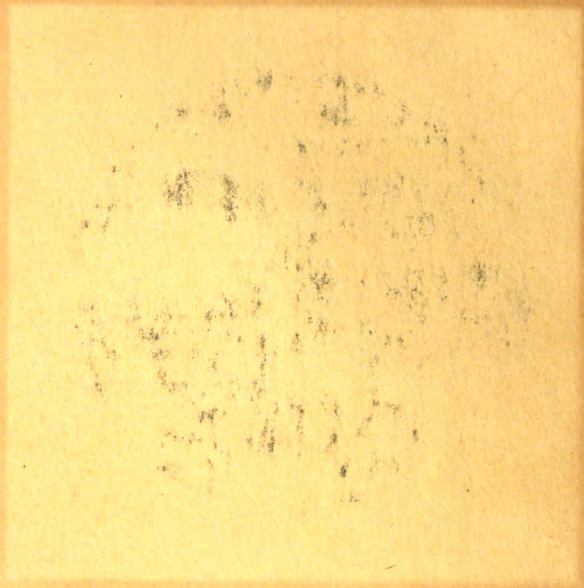

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PREFACE

The subject of this thesis was suggested to me by Mr. Raymond Weeks. The preliminary work was done at Columbia and criticized by Mr. Weeks and by the seminary of Mr. Henry A. Todd. Work on the MSS P, Q and S was done in Paris and work on the MSS H and C was done in Madison from the photostat reproductions.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Weeks for advice and encouragement which he gave me both while I was at Columbia and afterwards. My interest in research was constantly stimulated by various courses at Columbia and in Paris under MM. Joseph Bédier, Marie Roques and A. Jeanroy. My thanks are especially due to M. Henri Muller for several valuable suggestions and to Prof. Lucy M. Gay, who repeatedly read and criticized my work both in MS. and in proof.

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MARIE de FRANCE

I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to examine the work of Marie de France as an expression of the XIIth century French civilization, to determine the literary significance of the author and to bring out the unpublished MS. known as P. This MS. seems to represent an earlier form of the lays *Gugemar, Lanval* and a part of *Yonec* than do the MSS H and S which are the foundation of the previous editions of the lays and it differs from the other MSS in a way which does not appear adequately in a list of variants. The study undertakes to reinterpret the evidence that has already been examined by other scholars and particularly to analyse every hint of interior evidence which may throw light upon the numerous interesting questions relating to Marie de France.

For more than a hundred years, beginning with the edition of Roquefort in 1820, the elusive personality of Marie de France has been pursued in studies of linguistics, history, sources and criticism by scholars of at least half-a-dozen countries. Even before her work was actually available to the reading public, various students of Mediæval literature had written sympathetic if divergent accounts of what was to be found out about this writer. An annotated list of the numerous scholars and writers who have studied Marie de France would be almost the history of the rise of inter-

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est in the Middle Ages in Occidental Europe.[1] Since the important problems of chronology, dialect, folk-lore and the like connected with Marie were recently restated and reviewed by Warnke[2] and even more astutely by M. Hoepffner in his review of the same, a formal analysis of this phase of the subject is hardly necessary.

What is positively known or can be found out about Marie herself? Why did she write the lays? How did she, a French woman of the XIIth century happen to be so thoroughly educated? Indeed, to what extent was she educated? Was she a folk-lorist, a sort of XIIth century Charlotte Guest, as she intimates,[3] or were her statements about the origin of the genre *lai* due to her desire to throw an exotic glamor over her work? Why do the lays make such a keen impression on the reader? Why does the personality of their author seem to appear at each monent? How do the type romance characters acquire in the short space of a lay such real existence? How are we to account for the elusive quality of the very plots, if such a word may be used to indicate the thin web which holds the little poems together? How much of the material is of popular origin and how much original with Marie? What part of the lays as we have them is due to temperamental or unscrupulous scribes?

It will not be without significance to reconstruct a consistent biography of Marie de France based upon the internal evidence, calling upon what we know of the XIIth century to fill in many parts. In the face of

[1] The bibliography has been so arranged that any work referred to may be readily located so that complete bibliographical data will not be repeated in the footnotes.

[2] See bibliography under the various subjects mentioned.

[3] Prolog to *Lais*, lines 33 ss. and 47 ss.

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almost total absence of knowledge about her life, we shall go on the assumption that if the life of an author explains his works, his works are to a certain extent explanatory of his life.

Marie gives us to understand that she was born in or near the Ile de France.[4] It seems most likely that in her childhood Marie spent a great deal of her time in the study-room or at least in the house of some kinsman who was a cleric; there she doubtless acquired a taste for learning. She was in all probability sent to a convent where she learned Latin and where she studied all the books which were available: the Bible, some of the classics and some of the writings of her fellow countrymen. It is not unlikely that she was unsatisfactorily married and that she withdrew into a convent; the unsuccessful marriages in *Gugemar, Yonec, Laustic, Bisclavret, Equitan, Chievrefueil* and *Eliduc* certainly invite speculation on the subject of Marie's own marital relations. Marie could of course be thought of in the rôle of the third party in the triangle; but the oft-recurring and emphatic motive of loneliness which is to be seen in the lays discredits this possibility.[5]

[4] Epilog to *Fables,* line 4.

[5] J. C. Fox, *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* 1910, p. 303, believes Marie de France to have been a sister of Henry II of England. She was, he believes, a natural daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, father of Henry II, and lived from 1151 to 1215. This Mary received a charter as abbess in 1181 from Henry II in which she was referred to as *sister* and one from King John in which she was referred to as *aunt.* Her unorthodox opinions on love, says Mr. Fox, point to her illegitimate birth. Her position as abbess gave her the title of *Dame.* Her translation of the Fables of Alfred was a natural work for the abbess of the monastery which she founded.

The various conjectures of the paragraph will be considered in detail in another chapter.

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That the poet came from Normandy or the Ile de France everyone agrees but what dialect she used is a question which apparently can not be solved:[6] Warnke holds that the lays were originally written in Continental Norman;[7] M. Hoepffner thinks that his text, which is in the Ile de France dialect of the XIIIth century, is as near the original as the scientific text established in accordance with the best critical method by his predecessor.[8]

It is possible that Marie had written some of the lays and that they were in circulation even before she went to England.[9] When she prepared the book to dedicate to King Henry, she collected poems which she had already written adding some, perhaps, which had not been previously "published." It is not impossible that Marie revised some of the lays when she compiled the book but most of the differences between the continental MSS and the English MSS are probably due to the scribes. She certainly wrote the prolog of the lays by way of dedication to the king.[10]

There is no likelihood that Marie de France and Marie de Champagne will ever be definitely proven to have been one and the same person; the work of the latest and most persuasive writer on this point, Emil Winkler, has been little more convincing than that of his prede-

[6] Warnke, *Fables,* p. cxii.
[7] Warnke, *Lais,* p. xlii.
[8] Hoepffner, *Lais,* p. xxii.
[9] Gaston Paris, Rom. XXIV (1895) p. 294. says we do not know whether she wrote anything before she went to England, but certainly all the works we have were written long after her emigration. "Les lais qui contiennent plusieurs mots anglais, reposent, au moins en partie, sur des recits entendus en cette langue." See Winkler, *Marie de France,* p. 14 and Foulet, MLN (1905) p. 109 for a complete rebuttal of this opinion.
[10] See chapter on MSS.

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cessors: De la Rue, Robert and Méon, Von Reiffenburg, Rothe, Constans and Mall who held the same opinion.[11] There is nevertheless some likelihood that Marie de France wrote and was known before she left the continent. The well known passage in the introduction to the *Vie Seint Edmunt* of Denis Piramus furnishes an additional argument that the lays were already known when the author presented the copy to the king. Let us examine again that precious bit of information about Marie and the lays. To understand fully the import of this contemporary mention of the poet, it is necessary to see in what connection it appeared. Denis Piramus is on the point of telling a story which will not only instruct but amuse his readers; he is careful to make it as attractive as possible and he unhesitatingly interpolates long digressions which do not appear in his Latin original and yet he is obviously trying to circulate the poem under the guise of sanctity. He states that he himself had often written *serventeis, chaunceunettes, rimes,* etc. but that the devil (*le enemi*) made him do it; he regrets it and will never write any of that sort of thing again. He cries out against profane literature and does all that he can to detract from the reputation of all possible rivals. Thus, far from intending to praise the work of Marie, he is attempting to discredit it; his unconscious praise is much more significant than would have been the flattering approbation of a friend.[12]

[11] See bibliography.

[12] Although lines 35 ss. have often been quoted, the entire passage should be examined in its true light. After saying that he has wasted a great deal of time in profane literature the author continues:

Cil ki Partenope trova,
E ki les vers fist e rima,
Mult se pena de bien dire;
Si dist il bien de cele matire,

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Now Denis Piramus, it is agreed, wrote the *Vie Seint Edmunt* before the end of the XIIth century.[13] We must allow a considerable period for the lays of Marie to have made such a place for themselves in the hearts of the reading public; but linguistic evidence points to an earlier date than the dedication, earlier even than the allusion of Denis Piramus.[14] To assume that the lays were circulated one by one throughout the second half of the century would dissipate the difficulty between those who hold that the *Lais* was her earliest work and those who hold that it was her latest. The fact that Denis Piramus did not mention the *Fables* and the *Espurgatoire* can not be interpreted to mean that they were not written at that time; indeed, in pointing out the merits of his own work, he would have been very careful not to enumerate Saints' Lives which might rival his own. He was not interested in the genre but in the particular *Vie* he was offering to the public.

Marie is known to have written at least thirteen

Cume de fable e de menceonge.
La matire resemble songe;
Kar ceo ne poüst unkes estre.
Si est il tenu pur bon mestre,
E les vers sunt mult ames,
E en ces riches curts loez.
E Dame Marie altresi,
Ki en rime fist e basti,
E compensa les vers de lais,
Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais;
Si en est ele mult loee,
E la rime par tut amee.
Kar mult laiment, si lunt mult cher
Cunte, barun e chivaler.
E si en aiment mult lescrit,
E lire le funt, si unt delit
E si les funt sovent retreire.
Les lais suelent as dames pleire.
De joie les oient e de gre,
Quil sunt sulum lur volente.
Li rei, li prince e li curtur,
Cunte, barun e vavasur,
Aiment cuntes, chanceuns e fables
E bons diz qui sunt delitables;
Kar il hostent e gettent penser,
Doil, enui e travail de quer,
E si funt ires ublier,
E del quer hostent le penser.
Kant cil e vus, segnur trestuit,
Amez tel ovre e tel deduit,
Si vus volez entendre a mei,
Jeo vus dirrai, par dreite fei,
Un deduit qui mielz val asez,
Ke ces altres ke tant amez;
E plus delitable a oir
Si purrez les almes garir
E les cors garantir de hunte . . .

[13] F. L. Ravenel, *La Vie Seint Edmunt*, p. 57.
[14] See Bibliography under Ravenel and Haxo.
[15] Warnke, *Lais*, p. xxii.

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lays, to have translated, probably from the Latin,[15] 103 fables and to have translated a Latin Tractatus of H[enricus] of Salisbury, a story of the otherworld trip of St. Owein, under the title of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz.*[16] It is established that the lay *Eliduc* was imitated by the author of *Ille et Galeron* which was written shortly after 1167.[17] The *Espurgatoire* could not have been begun before 1155 as the work of which it is a translation was not written at that date.[18] In another chapter we will present evidence that the translation of the fables was probably made before the lays were written and that the *Espurgatoire* was translated after the dedication of the lays to the king. We would propose the following dates as approximate: *Fables,* 1160; *Lays* one by one from 1165 to 1185; *Espurgatoire,* 1190.[19] It is certain that Marie de France was a contemporary of the writers of the *romans courtois;* since exact dates can not be produced, arguments

[15] See chapter on *Fables.*

[16] See Bibliography.

[17] Sheldon, MP, XVII (1919), p. 383.

[18] Foulet, Rom. Forsch., XXII, p. 618.

[19] Ezio Levi, *Sulla cronologia* . . . . dates the *Lais* before 1183, the *Espurgatoire* about 1185 and the *Fables* after 1189. He believes that the count to whom Marie dedicated the *Fables* may be Guillaume le Maréchal but Foulet holds that he may have been Guillaume de Mandeville, count of Albermarle, proposed by Ahlström, or one of the 110 Williams who met at a banquet given by the Young King, for a number of them were counts. (Loc. cit., p. 618).

Winkler's elaborate identification of the count with William Longsword (See Bibliography) was discredited, by Foulet and other reviewers. After all the discussions, Marie's King Henry and count are simply unidentifiable. Foulet points out in his review of E. L. that the author could have dedicated the lays either to Henry II, to the Young King or to Louis VII of France who was in England in 1179. The dates suggested by Gaston Paris (Rom. XXIV (1895) p. 294) are: *Fables* 1170, *Lais* 1180, and *Espurgatoire* 1190.

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as to influences and counter-influences will have to be based upon interior evidence.

How did Marie de France happen to desert the tradition of her sex to the extent of becoming a writer? We learn several points from the prolog to the lays as it appears in the MS. H:

> Ki de vice se vuelt defendre,
> Estudier deit e entendre
> E grevos uevre comencier.
> Pur ceo s'en puet plus esloignier
> E de grant dolur delivrer. (Prolog, 23-27)

The entire prolog is instructive if somewhat enigmatical:

> Pur ceo començai a penser
> D'alkune bone estoire faire
> E de Latin en Romanz traire;
> Mais ne me fust gaires de pris
> Itant s'en sunt altre entremis.
> Des lais pensai qu'oïz aveie,
> Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie
> Que pur remembrance les firent
> Des aventures qu'il oïrent
> Cil ki primes les comencierent
> E ki avant les enveierent.
> Plusurs en ai oïz cunter
> Ne voil laissier ne oblier.
> Rime en ai e fait ditie
> Soventes feiz en ai veillie.

And further:

> M'entremis des lais assembler
> Par rime faire e reconter.

She took to study and writing to keep out of idleness. The idea of translating or paraphrasing some good story from Latin to French was abandoned since there

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were so many others who were doing the same thing. She thought of the lays which she had heard and concluded that it would be more worth while to put some of them in written form than to run competition with the numerous scholars who were working on translations, adaptations or paraphrases of famous works of antiquity. Therefore, after beginning with a prim little prolog to the first lay wherein she speaks of the importance of preserving good stories, she wrote the story of *Gugemar.*

She apparently wanted the reader to believe she had already written something which had caused the envious to talk about her. Perhaps someone had actually plagiarized or stolen some of the work as she suggests in the Epilog to the *Fables.* To avoid a repetition of that misfortune, she signed her *Lais* in a rhyme. Since she signed both the *Fables* and the *Espurgatoire,* it could not have been either of these that had been stolen. Now since this idea is expressed in a prolog which appears only in the MS. H, a collection of lays some of which had very probably been in circulation for some time, we must assume that some of these very lays had been appropriated by other poets. One could easily believe she was speaking specifically of the lay *Graelent,* which, as has often been pointed out,[20] is a close imitation of *Lanval.* In any case, Marie was no beginner when she wrote the prolog to the lays as it appears in the MS. H. She had, in all probability, written the lay *Gugemar* first of all as she says in the prolog to *Gugemar. Lanval* was probably written in the early period for it was preserved in the MS. P along with *Gugemar* and *Yonec.*[21] *Eliduc* was probably one of the first as it

[20] See bibliography.
[21] See chapter on MSS.

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was written about 1167.[22] Since *Chievrefueil* contains the oldest mention of the fact that Tristan was musically talented we may infer that it too is one of the earlier lays.[23] It can not be definitely proved that certain lays were written before certain other ones but a consideration of the subject matter of the lays indicates that certain ones were early and certain ones late. In *Gugemar, Yonec, Chievrefueil* and *Eliduc* the attitude of the poet is thoroughgoing, even participatory sympathy with extra-legal love affairs and that in other lays she is entirely conventional on that score. In *Milon* a child is born out of wedlock, it is true, but little is made of that part of the story. In *Eliduc* the triangular relations are so specialized that we would hardly include this poem in the early group if it had not been imitated in *Ille et Galeron.* It is not impossible that in an earlier version there was a less conventional conclusion to the rather extraordinary scrape into which the hero had allowed his natural inclinations to get him.

In certain of the lays and in the prolog and epilog of the *Fables* there is a recurring expression of loneliness, a tone of defeat. Marie makes such numerous and such persistent appeals to the reader's sympathies for the lonely foreigner that we are forced to see behind them the very attractive figure of the poet in a foreign land, alone, bewildered and convinced that she was misunderstood. In *Gugemar* we see the pitiable hero who does not dare to speak of his love to the beautiful lady even when encouraged by her maid:

[22] Sheldon, loc. cit.
[23] Foulet, ZFRP, XXIX, p. 293.

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Il ne l'osoit niënt requere
Por çou qu'il est d'estrange terre.
Avoit peür sel li mostrast
Que nel haïst et eslongast. [Gugemar 477]

Gugemar spends the night reflecting upon the unfortunate state of affairs. In *Eliduc,* after Guilliadon has become enamoured of the hero, she looks upon him as one of "those foreigners":

"Lasse! cum est mis quers suzpris
Par un hume d'altre païs!
Ne sai s'il est de halte gent. . . . . [Eliduc 42]

In *Yonec,* the woman's distrust of the man-bird is hardly to be considered in this connexion. Lanval is a romantic figure for the reason that he is not part and parcel of the circle in which he moves—he is a foreigner:

Del franc home d'autre païs. . . . [Lanval 427]

He was far from home and, although his father was a king, Lanval had no money; having spent all his means of subsistence he was poignantly unhappy. Marie comments upon the situation with great conviction:

Or est Lanvaus molt entrepris;
Mout est dolans, mout est pensis.
Segnor, ne vos en merveilliés;
Hom estranges desconseilliés
Mout est dolans en autre terre
Quant il ne set u secors querre. [Lanval 33]

Again in *Gugemar,* the first question the lady asked the knight was whether he were an exile. She, like Marie, was sympathetic with that category of men. Gugemar, though he bravely denied that he was an exile, painted a stirring picture of his situation and said simply and impressively that he did not know where

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to go. The description of the lady's loneliness when she was detained by Meriadus is perhaps the subtlest and most appealing passage in the entire work of Marie de France. After all her trials and her dangers at sea, she had arrived safely in port only to find that she was no better off than when she was with the jealous old husband.

What is the significance of the particularly sympathetic treatment of lonely characters? It is true that a separation is almost a *sine qua non* of a good love story in the Middle Ages, but Marie seems to have felt more than any of her contemporaries the pain of being away from home, lover and native land. There was of course a growing feeling of national self-consciousness as early as the XIIth century. In the *Roland,* for example, there are dozens of citations of the name *France* and *France la Douce* which can be explained only by the author's love of his native country. A little later Dante was to show his love for his native city in nearly every canto of his moving masterpiece. Marie, it will be remembered, was one of the considerable number of poets from France who had crossed over into England to live nearer the headquarters of the powerful English King where poets were better received than they were by the French courts at that time. Her natural pride in having been born and brought up in France is paralleled by a similar feeling on the part of other writers who were living in England; however, when a newcomer repeatedly speaks regretfully of his old country, it usually means that he is not entirely happy in his new surroundings. It is not too much to infer that Marie herself had many moments of loneliness and that she missed the scenes of

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her childhood. I should not go so far as to say, on the strength of these passages alone, that Marie was utterly wretched in England; the idea of plagiarists, which she voices in the epilog to the *Fables*,[24] and of rivals, which is implicit in the prolog of the *Lais*,[25] may possibly be a convention. Her slightly extended complaint of Fortune[26] is probably no more than a repetition of a classical figure which she could have seen in any one of a dozen different works. A final possibility, and one which I suggest with hesitancy on account of her generally dignified tone which contrasted with that of some of the parasite poets, is that perhaps Marie was making much of her situation in order to appeal to the sympathy of possible patrons.

There is little probability that Marie had a regular patron for she could reasonably be expected to have perpetuated the name of such a person by a dedication. Her feeling of loneliness was not absent even when she was translating the *Fables* by order; in the prolog to the *Fables*[27] she shows this tone of one who feels himself imposed on by saying that she was laying herself open to criticism.[28]

Why did Marie leave off writing lays and turn her efforts to the translation of the *Espurgatoire?* Was she forced by her enemies, encouraged by her friends or driven by conscience to undertake this laborious work? The only hint we find in the lays is that her interest in the church and its institutions were on the increase.[29]

[24] Warnke, *Fables, Epilog,* line 5.
[25] *Gugemar,* lines 5 ss.
[26] *Gugemar,* line 538.
[27] Line 36.
[28] Phaedrus spoke repeatedly of his imaginary enemies.
[29] Miss Edith Rickert (*Seven Lays,* p. 145) says, on the contrary, that in the lays Marie shows no interest in religious matters.

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In *Gugemar,* which is assumed with some degree of probability to be the first lay of Marie, the priest was a ridiculous figure and the woman's attendance upon mass was a perfunctory matter. In *Fraisne,* the abbess is humane and praiseworthy in general but she is hardly distinguishable from any other woman who would be in charge of a young girl. If Marie had had any especial interest in any particular abbess or in convent life at that time, she would presumably have shown it in this lay. The story of *Eliduc* introduces points which practically make a saint's legend of it. But, after all, going into a monastery was a recognized solution of any difficult problem for the well-to-do of the Middle Ages; the church was of course eager for the idea to have the greatest possible publicity. But while *Eliduc* is a love story, and one of Marie's most daring lays, the author seems to focus the interest on the climax of the story, at the point when the heroic wife acts with such inhuman generosity that the other two are attracted irresistibly to the bosom of the church. This lay has another trait which makes it seem like a saint's legend: when the storm comes up, the skipper thinks it is a punishment from God on account of the illegitimate wife. Finally, in spite of the fact that the story is obviously not true, Marie repeats the usual formula at the end of the lay and says that the incident happened and that the story had been told; but this lay, exceptionally, was made not so that the story *could be* remembered, as the others, but because it *ought to be* remembered. It may very well have been written to popularize a legend. Why *ought* it to be remembered except that people ought to bear it in mind that the church is always ready to receive them? In *Yonec,* the

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abbot manifests pride in showing the buildings of the monastery; Marie describes with pomp the interior of the church where the tomb is. The bird-man recites the Creed in order to prove that he is a Christian.

The contrast between the stories of irregularities and the manifest interest in the church and its institutions is rather striking and troublesome. The slight evidence that some of the more daring love lays were the earliest ones may mean that Marie subsequently had some special interest in putting the church forward. Although she can not be positively identified with Mary the abbess of Shaftesbury[30] she may be assumed to have lived in a convent for it is impossible to imagine a XIIth century woman without protection writing and using books excepting in some ecclesiastical institution.[31]

In the lays we find no conclusive evidence as to why Marie should have abandoned such a charming and popular genre as the *lai* to take up the laborious trans-

[30] See above, note on Fox, J. C.

[31] The Bible, which was such a rich source of inspiration for the artists of the Middle Ages, undoubtedly had a large influence on the writers both for plots and for descriptions. There are parallels to be seen between the Exodus of the Israelites and the conquering army of Charlemagne in pursuit of the Saracens, such as the sun standing still and the drowning of the enemy. Although the romances had a less ecclesiastical bent than the *chansons de geste,* traces of Biblical influence would doubtless not be difficult to find. It is not unreasonable to see with Köhler (Warnke, *Die Lais . . . .*) a relation between Potiphar's wife and the traditionally libidinous Guinivere or between the storm in the Jonah story and that in *Eliduc,* etc., etc. It would be going a little too far to see a close relationship between the visits of the man-bird in *Yonec* and the Immaculate Conception; however, it is not a very far cry from Marie de France to Boccacio's second story of the Fourth Day of the *Decameron* in which a Friar makes a woman believe that an angel is in love with her.

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lation such as that of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz;* the *Espurgatoire* is more illuminating on this subject. She may have undertaken the work as a penance or indeed merely to keep herself out of *vice* (idleness). Her final couplet in the *Espurgatoire* was:

Or preium Deu que par sa grace
De noz pechiez mundes nus face.

Now a devout church-member would not have to be a very grave sinner to be conscious of having sinned; and a person who had formerly looked on with exultation at the irregular actions of the heroes and heroines of the lays as Marie had done, might well have felt an overwhelming conviction of sin. Denis Piramus takes her to task for the levity of the lays;[32] some eloquent theologian may have made of the situation a serious *cas de conscience* or she may have come to herself and of her own free will decided to make amends. The translation of a Latin tract into 2302 octosyllabic lines ryhming in couplets is not at all an unlikely penance.

Marie's announced purpose of making the story available for the *laie gent* explains her little added admonitions, her painstaking explanations of involved passages such as the description of the purgatorial system (1740 ss.), Owein's confession before he goes into Hell (511 ss.) and many other observances of church offices which are underlined with the indefatigable devotion of an old woman who is trembling on the brink of death and eternity.[33] Her principal preoccupation, as was that of practically all her contemporaries, was the after life; when she was performing the laborious task of trans-

[32] Loc. cit.
[33] See additional analysis of *Espurgatoire* in another chapter.

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lating the *Espurgatoire* her principal concern was to accumulate merit. Her changed attitude towards morality, her increased knowledge,[34] her exaggerated feeling of duty to teach sinners what is the result of sin and her apparent aim in writing the *Espurgatoire,* her preoccupation with the idea of accumulating merit which would pay off old scores—all these indicate age and piety. Everything points to the probability that the *Espurgatoire* was undertaken long after the lays "which were not at all true" [35] and even longer after the fables.

[34] See note to *Gugemar* line 257.
[35] Denis Piramus, loc. cit.

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II

THE FABLES AND THE ESPURGATOIRE

The *Fables* of Marie de France should first of all be examined as an example of the genre to which they belong for, because of its simplicity and adaptability, this genre had a considerable influence on the people of all classes in the Middle Ages. The fables, in the written form in which they have come down to us, have somewhat the same relation to the *fabliaux* and the *Roman de Renard* that the more elegant lays of Marie de France have to the *Romans Bretons.* The former, which were commonly known as Ysopets because the genre was presumably created by Aesop, were stories in verse designed to teach the result of practising the common vitrues and vices; the latter were stories in verse whose chief function was to amuse.[36] However, the former were very often amusing and the latter usually instructure. The former were written principally in the XIIth century and the latter in the XIIIth. The word *fable,* of course, meant *simple narrative,* and is not to be confused with the *Ysopet.* The nomenclature of the lesser genres was somewhat loose; *fable, lai, dit, roman, fabliau, miracle* were all narrative poems.[37]

The *fabliaux,* varying in length from 18 to 1200 lines, had no religious teaching implied, no moral, no supernatural, no extreme sentimentality as did the *miracles,* the *dits moraux* and some of the *lais.* Although the

[36] J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux,* p. 30.
[37] Bédier, p. 31.

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Ysopets and *fabliaux* had some stories in common and although the latter were written down at a somewhat later period, it does not follow that the latter were made of the former as might be supposed from the line:

Des fables fist l'on les fableaus.[38]

It is not likely that the people in the Middle Ages perceived any similarity between the two genres.[39]

The *Fables* or more properly the *Ysopets* of Marie de France are a part of a considerable body of fable literature which had come down from writers of antiquity and which became popular in the Middle Ages. The ancient Greek Aesop, a wise man, a traveler, a raconteur, left behind him a great many stories whose principal actors were lower animals or inanimate objects. In these stories he handed down to his descendants the wisdom he had acquired by long observation and study. He himself apparently never put the stories into written form; he composed them with such insight into the human heart, however, that they were

[38] Gaston Paris, *La Lit. fr. au moyen âge,* p. 119, shows that the word *fable* is here used to mean story of an adventure.

[39] The principal contention of M. Bédier's important work, *Les Fabliaux,* is that the *fabliaux* were of French and not of Oriental origin. He does not derive the *fabliaux* from the *Fables.* However, in the Collège de France lectures on the *chanson populaire* in 1923, he maintained another phase of his theory of the origin of literature in Mediæval France, showing that the poet played a much more important rôle than the *peuple* in the production of popular poetry and song; many an incomprehensible jingle, he held, was once the perfectly reasonable product of a more or less skilled poet. The *chansons de geste,* as he showed in *Les Légendes Épiques,* were not made by the people but by conscious artists and for a specific purpose.

Could sophisticated Satire spring from *the people* who produced neither epic nor lyric? There must have been some starting point; it is not unlikely that the written *Ysopets* were the nuclei for some of the fabliaux.

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not soon forgotten. Many of them were written down by friends and admirers, some in prose, some in poetic form. Socrates himself is said to have put some of them into verse. At any rate, the name of Aesop became identified with fables in general. Another Greek named Phaedrus, who lived in Rome at the beginning of the 1st century A.D., wrote with great skill some fables whose stories were attributed to the already almost legendary Aesopus. He carefully acknowledged his source. The Emporer Romulus who is reported by Marie de France to have written the fables of Aesop for the instruction of his son is not the name of a historical Emporer Romulus but the pseudonym of some obscure plagiarist.[40] The name, however, was popularized so that from the Xth to the XIIth century any collection of fables might be called a *Romulus* just as in the XIIth century and after any collection of them might be called an *Ysopet.* The Romulus versions were based largely upon the clearly authenticated Phaedrus.[41,42]

Marie's collection contains 103 fables in octosyllabic couplets with a prolog of 40 lines and an epilog of 22 lines. From the prolog and epilog we can infer a few facts and hazard other guesses about our author. The prolog and epilog are apparently paraphrased, in

[40] Hervieux, Vol. I, p. 305-6.

[41] Hervieux, loc. cit.

[42] Winkler, op. cit., compares Marie's fables with the Latin collection known as the LBG or the *dérivé complet* or the Romulus de Trèves. He believes the latter came from the same source as Marie's. Foulet, in his review of Winkler's study, believes the contrary. Neither side is definitely proven. Foulet points out that it is in these texts that appear for the first time any fables of an original character (caractère tout particulier) in which a reflection of contemporary animal stories has been found.

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part, from an unknown original. The beginning is apparently original with Marie; it is pitched in just the apologetic tone that she uses elsewhere.[43]

Cil ke sevent de letreüre,
Devreient bien metre lur cure
Es bons livres e es escriz
E es essamples e es diz,
Que li philosophe troverent
E escristrent e remembrerent.
Par moralité escriveient,
Les bons proverbes qu'il oeient,
Que cil amender s'en poïssent
Ki lur entente en bien meïssent.
Ceo firent li anciën pere.(Prol. 1-11. Warnke.)

In none of the numerous Latin versions which appear in Hervieux' monumental work do I find any trace of the idea of the duty of the educated to teach. This attitude corresponds to the conception of intellectual efforts as an antidote to *vice* (idleness) which, as we have pointed out above, Marie states in the prolog to the lays. It lacks the breadth and dignity of the famous apologia at the beginning of the *Rou* of Wace.[44]

To pursue Marie's prolog:

Romulus, ki fu emperere,
A sun fiz escrist e manda
E par essample li mustra
Cum se deüst cuntreguaitier
Que hum nel peüst enginier. (12-16)

[43] See Chapter I.
[44] Pur remembrer des ancesurs
Les faiz e les diz e les murs,
Deit l'um les liures e les gestes
E les estoires lire as festes,
Les felunies des feluns.
E les barnages des baruns.
Pur ceo firent bien e saueir
E grant pris durent cil aueir

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The mythical Emperor Romulus is to be found in the Romulus Nilanti version.[45]

Esopes escrist a sun mestre,
Ki bien cunut lui e sun estre,
Unes fables qu'il ot trovees
De Griu en Latin translatees. (17-20)

This statement is also to be found in the source of Marie's source.

Merveille en orent li plusur
Qu'il mist sun sens en tel labur;
Mes n'i a fable de folie
U il nen ait philosophie
Es essamples ki sunt aprés,
U des cuntes est tuz li fes. (21-26)

In the prolog of Book II, Phaedrus too expresses the idea that however insignificant some of the fables may seem, they have a real value.

A mei, ki la rime en dei faire,
N'avenist niënt a retraire
Plusurs paroles ki i sunt;
Mes nepuruec cil m'en sumunt,
Ki flurs est de chevalerie,
D'enseignement, de curteisie;
E quant tels huem m'en a requise,
Ne vueil laissier en nule guise
Que n'i mete travail e peine,
Ki que m'en tienge pur vileine;
Mult dei faire pur sa preiere. (27-37)

Ki escristrent premierement,
E li auctur plenierement . . . . (1-10).
(Maistre Wace's *Roman de Rou* . . . . herausgegeben von Dr. Hugo Andresen. Heilbron, 1877.)

[45] Of the numerous versions of the Romulus, the one which interests us is the so-called *Romulus Nilanti* which was presumably the original of the Anglo-Latin Romulus which Marie is believed to have translated into *romanz*. (Hervieux, Vol. I, p. 730.)

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She did not leave out such words as she might have been expected to delete, for the person who asked her to do the work was, himself, the very flower of knighthood, propriety and courtesy. Even though anyone were to think her a wicked woman, she could not refuse to undertake the work at the request of such a person.

Ci comencerai la premiere
Des fables qu'Esopes escrist,
Qu'a sun mestre manda e dist. (38-40)

The end of the prolog is commonplace enough and adds but little to what we learned in line 17 ss. But why the repetition? It possibly indicates that she had two or more prologs before her which she was paraphrasing. Unfortunately the problem can not be definitely solved as the originals are apparently lost.

The epilog is more instructive. Here she names herself and her patron. She begins with a more detailed treatment of the tradition which had grown up around the Aesop material.

Al finement de cest escrit,
Qu'en Romanz ai traitié e dit,
Me numerai pur remembrance:
Marie ai num, si sui de France.
Puet cel estre, cil clerc plusur
Prendreient sur els mun labur:
Ne vueil que nuls sur lui le die;
Cil uevre mal ki sei ublie. (Epilog. 1-8)

The famous *Marie ai num, si sui de France* is difficult to understand. Mediæval writers did not always have a sufficient degree of artistic self-consciousness to sign their works. Marie was apparently a person of parts who already had some reputation when she wrote the

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first of her three known works.[46] While she could not have written the *Lais* as a whole nor the *Espurgatoire* at that time, she could very well have written and *published* a few of the lays. Now as the Romulus Nilanti, which is regarded as being very close to Marie's original, does not contain this rather strong feeling of ownership nor the fear of plagiarists are we to assume that the author was here speaking of her own situation? Such is very probably the case, for only in the earliest versions of Phaedrus do we find that he tells where he came from and that he fears, without apparent justification, his enemies, his rivals and the like (prol. Book III). There are several analogies between the situation of Marie in England and Phaedrus in Rome. It is possible that Marie had a text before her in which some of the prologs and epilogs of Phaedrus appeared but this possibility is so slight that we may look upon this passage as a reflection of the situation in which Marie was at that time.[47]

The following four lines are the most puzzling in the entire work of Marie de France:

> Pur amur le cunte Willalme,
> Le plus vaillant de cest reialme,
> M'entremis de cest livre faire
> E de l'Engleis en Romanz traire. (9-12)

A number of hypotheses have been proposed and many complicated sets of arguments have been put together to prove the case for various Williams but neither

[46] See above, Chap. 1.

[47] Hervieux points out that both Phaedrus and Marie were persistent in expressing the opinion that their works were of real and permanent interest. He cites no less than seven passages in which Phaedrus calls attention to his brevity (Op. cit., vol. I, p. 35) and he cites *Gug.* 21, *Chiev.* 114, and *Elid.* 658 to show that Marie too considered brevity a virtue.

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William Long-Sword nor Guillaume le Maréchal, the most likely candidates, has been positively identified as Marie's protector.[48]

Esope apelë um cest livre
Kil translata e fist escrivre,
De Griu en Latin le turna. (13-15)

This is another reiteration of the statement which appears twice in the prolog:

Li reis Alvrez, ki mult l'ama,
Le translata puis en Engleis,
E jeo l'ai rimé en Franceis, ... (16-18)

In the version of the Romulus which Hervieux calls the Romuli Anglici Cunctis appears the following sentences which is probably the source of the above statement: *Deinde rex Anglie Affrus in anglicam linguam eum transferri precepit.* The majority of the MSS of *Fables* of Marie concur in writing *King Alfred* but the reading *Henris* is supported by three MSS, *Mires* by two and *Almes, Amez, Auree, Uures* are each found in one MS. Any popular name undergoes a certain variation in copies made by scribes at different times and places but Alfred's authorship is suspicious for other reasons.

If the fables had been translated by King Alfred or at his order into Xth century Anglo-Saxon, Marie, even if she had known the English of the XIIth century, would not have understood them. The fact that Alfred was a famous protector of letters has caused tradition to make of him a scholar and writer. Hervieux insists that we accept the reading *Henris* in spite of G. Paris' protests.[49] The Mediaeval tendency to add

[48] See also Chap. I, note 19.
[49] Review of Hervieux. See bibliography under Hervieux.

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éclat to a work by including numerous royal names along with the growing tendency to glorify the English Kings might account for the oft-quoted lines; but the passage itself which is found in the Romuli Anglici Cunctis really explains them: Marie merely says that King Alfred, who liked them very much, had them translated afterwards into English and that she rhymed them into French just as she found them in the original. The juxtaposition of the two statements has been misleading.

Now the entire epilog has all the appearance of one of those composite epilogs which are to be found frequently in works often copied by scribes who had no scruples about adding or lopping off. Line 17 is a variation on line 12. The troublesome line 12 occurs in 14 of the known MSS. There are three reasons which lead us to believe that lines 9-12 form an interpolation which is due to the pen of one of the first copyists: (1) Dedications are known to be *sujets à caution* in general; the variety of versions of the prolog and epilog of the Fables (Warnke, pp. 329-339) make this dedication particularly suspicious. (2) Nine of the MSS of the *Fables,* YBETGIZPK, do not contain the epilog at all; of these there are six which were written in the XIIIth century while only six of the MSS which contain the epilog are as early as the XIIIth century. (3) It is well known that writers of the Middle Ages referred sometimes to fictitious sources; authority had to be cited. It would be a pretty compliment to an Englishman to state in an epilog that such a remarkable book had been translated from his native tongue; any scribe might readily have added that idea.

The most important evidence in support of the tra-

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ditional statement that Marie translated the fables from the English is this line 12 of the epilog which, obviously, is not conclusive. As the question of English versions has not yet been thoroughly investigated, it is useless to consider in this connexion the probability of the existence of such a version in Marie's time. From all appearances, the translation was made from a Latin original.

The epilog concludes:

E jeo l'ai rimé en franceis
Si cum jol truvai, proprement.
Or pri a Deu omnipotent
Qu'a tel uevre me doinst entendre,
Que jeo li puisse m'alme rendre.

This prayer, by way of closing, might suggest that Marie was nearing the end of her life; that is hardly likely for the *Fables* was assuredly an early work. It had been a long and tiresome work and Marie was merely uttering a fervent sigh of relief upon arriving at the end of her task. This prayer, presumably written by Marie, was developed so fantastically by one of the scribes that the reader becomes all the more sceptical as to the authenticity of the prologs and epilogs.

The collection of *Fables* itself is worthy of the consideration of the literary critic from three points of view: as a translation, for its effect upon Marie herself and for its influence on her contemporaries and successors.

(1) The short line, the most popular vehicle for all Mediaeval genres except the *chansons de gestes*, lends itself to a matter-of-fact, cryptic, taunting style. The quick, almost telegraphic style of the lays is al-

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ready seen here in embryo. Perhaps this effect is partially due to the fact that Marie was making a translation and, perforce, writing it down bit by bit. While Marie doubtless felt a keen interest in the morals which these fables drove home, she was far from being a prude; repeatedly we find comparatively delicate situations handled very coolly by the same hand that was to announce her broad ideas on love and marriage. Although Marie herself apologizes in the prolog for some of the words which she uses, she tells the story of the fox and the she-bear [Fable LXIX] with perfect equanimity. Some low *fabliaux* which appear in one of the MSS of Marie de France (Hervieux, Vol. I, 752 ss.) will therefore have to be thrown out on grounds other than what we call obscenity.

It would be useless to consider in detail the subjects of the fables which Marie translated, but since she and her patron must have been attracted to the fables on account of their subject matter, we can not pass them over entirely in silence. She had doubtless heard fables, *exempla,* cited from the pulpit and perhaps she had read some of them in Latin versions. And moreover she had an ear for literature; her taste told her they were worth while, that they were stories which could interest and instruct her contemporaries. To her the collection was a series of apologues whose teaching was simply that the race was not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong. The powerful lion is gentle and just, like a fatherly old king. Rulers have a certain nobility. When there is an argument between the strong and the weak, when any problem in nature arises, the natural thing happens: the wolf of course eats the lamb, the rat finally comes back from his search and

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marries one of his kind, the stag finds that his legs are more useful than his antlers. The weak must suffer sometimes but the wicked do not always triumph. This common sense "philosophy" and solid, bourgeois *mores* are to be seen also in the lays.

A significant aspect of the translation is that Marie has succeeded to a certain extent in evoking the animal or the person concerned. To select almost at random a fable, I quote one whose story has been handled by La Fontaine. It is needless to say that the poem of La Fontaine is superior to Marie's version but even in this light, Marie's poem does not seem entirely without literary merit.

XXXIX (Warnke, p. 132)

De formica et cicada

D'un criket cunte la maniere,
Ki desqu'a une furmière
El tens d'yver esteit alez.
Par aventure est enz entrez.
Viande demanda e quist;
Kar n'en aveit niënt, ceo dist,
En sa maisun n'en sun recet.
Dist li furmis: "Qu'as tu dunc fet,
Quant tu deüsses guaaignier
E en aüst tei purchacier?"
"Jeo chantai," fet il, "e deduis
A altres bestes, mes ne truis
Ki me vueille guereduner:
Pur ceo m'estuet issi aler."
Dist li furmis: "Chante ore a mei!
Par cele fei que jeo te dei,
Mielz fust que tu te purchaçasses
El meis d'aüst e guaaignasses,
Que tu fusses de freit muranz
A mun us viande queranz!
Pur quei te durreie a mangier,
Quant tu a mei ne puez aidier?"

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Pur ceo defent que nuls ne vive
En nunchaleir ne en oisdive.
Sulunc ceo que chescuns deit faire
Se deit pener de bien atraire;
Plus en est chiers s'il a que prendre,
Que s'a l'altrui se deit atendre.

It is certainly awkward to begin the translation with "It tells" but the body of the poem makes an excellent little scene for an "ample comédie." Although the moral, to which Marie attached tremendous importance, is unimaginative and although the entire poem lacks the lightness and resilience of La Fontaine, it still has a certain dry charm and sprightliness.

Marie did not make mere translations; the fables are much too spirited and Marie was much too much concerned to do things half-heartedly. The lessons drawn at the end of the fables were certainly due in part to Marie's invention. We do not find in any of the known Latin versions such moving diatribes as the following conclusion to the fable entitled *De Lupo et ango:*

Ço funt li riche robeür,
Li vescunte e li jugeür
De cels qu'il unt en lur justise.
Fals achaisun par coveitise
Truevent asez pur els confundre;
Suvent les funt a plait somundre:
La char lur tolent e la pel,
Si cum li lous fist a l'aingel. (Warnke, p. 10)

Much of the spirit of revolt that is often associated with the *fabliaux* is to be found in the work of Marie. It is regrettable that Marie's direct source is not extant so that we might know precisely what Marie added of her own in this work. While many of the Morals are simple to the point of being obvious, certain ones con-

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tain reflections upon the social institutions of the times and a few seem to reveal the troubled heart of a woman who understood and loved her fellow man.

(2) The careful reworking of the hundred and three little scenes which contain exemplifications of almost every passion and emotion of the human heart was a wonderful training for Marie. Aside from the technical matters of versification, the poet derived great profit from an intimate acquaintance with a body of popular stories which had interested *the people* for thousands of years. She absorbed many universal truths which appear in these apologues. We have here practically all the elements of the *fabliaux* with the added moral note which was so essential to the Mediaeval ecclesiastical régime. We have a feudal system of the animals, rebelling lords, substitute rulers, clergy good and bad, domestic scenes and nearly all the ramifications of XIIth century society either pictured or implied. It was equivalent to a study of ethics, psychology and natural history, on a small scale of course. In more than one passage of the lays she was to make use of her knowledge of animals and her acquaintance with the common-sense *mores* found in the fables. Many odd bits of extraneous information which she learned while making the translation served her in good stead in her more creative work.[50] To draw an appropriate lesson from each one of the fables was a laborious but stimulating task. I believe it was this work which gave Marie the breadth and seriousness

[50] Salerno, a medical center, mentioned in Fables LXVIII, 36 and in *Deux Amanz,* 103 and 107. Although Salerno was known as a medical center before the date of the official charter of the university, it does not seem likely that it would have been mentioned in the oral source of the *Deux Amanz.* Salerno

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which set her apart from most of her contemporaries. Unquestionably Marie felt deeply her mission as a sooth-sayer and a guide; her aggressive tone in the lays and in the *Espurgatoire* whenever she is trying to prove a point illustrates this feeling on her part.

(3) However thoroughly we may be convinced that the *fabliaux* sprang from the people, we can not overlook the great popularity of the *Ysopets* and the large number of traits of similarity between the *fabliaux* and the *Ysopets* both as to subject matter and intent. It is impossible to prove that a certain *fabliau* was built upon a certain fable but the fact remains that we find among the fables some stories which have all the ear marks of the *fabliaux*. The *fabliaux* support the same bourgeois code of morals which is found in the *Ysopets* and they have somewhat the same didactic vein; a close relationship between the two genres is quite as difficult to deny as to demonstrate.

There is also a kinship between the fables and the *Roman de Renard*.[51] Renard the fox, one of the favorite animals of the fables, becomes practically a human being in his habits and his foibles. This relationship does not imply that Marie de France's work was the source of the Roman de Renard; well authenticated sources for parts of it are known to have existed long before Marie. However, Marie's version of the fables met with great popularity and assuredly attracted more

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is mentioned twice, however, in the *De Leone Infirmo* of the *Romuli Anglici Nonnullis Exortae Fabulae* or the *Dérivé partiel* (Hervieux, Vol. II, p. 561); everything points to the existence of this city in the source of Marie's *Fables* and that of the *Dérivé partiel*. Again in Fable XCI Marie mentions a *biche avec faon* and *cornes en la teste* which she uses later in *Gugemar*, 86, with the same fawn and horns.

[51] Bédier and Hazard, Vol. I, p. 29.

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attention and interest to that general body of literature than the Xth century source of the *Renard*.

The significance of Marie's translation of the fables is that she thereby did much to popularize in the French-reading public this genre which was of great importance as an expression of the civilization and as a moulder of the morals of the impressionable people of the Middle Ages. The common-sense fables, which harked back to pagan antiquity, formed an excellent antidote to Mediaeval scholasticism.

Before the appearance of Mr. Jenkins' second edition of the *Espurgatoire* together with its Latin original, the 9th line of the *Espurgatoire* had been interpreted to mean that Marie had undertaken the work at the invitation of a high member of the clergy (prozdum). That line, however, as Mr. Jenkins pointed out, is due to the author of the Latin original whom a *pater venerandus* had encouraged to write the work. Marie's purpose in making the translation was, she says, to make the description of Purgatory comprehensible to laymen (*Espurgatoire* 2299-2300).[52] Her feeling in the matter of religion at the time she translated the *Espurgatoire* is attested by the vividness of her imagination and the strength of her faith which appears as she translates, interprets and embroiders on a rather dull original. This does not mean she made any very considerable changes from the original text: she follows it very closely, adding, as Mr. Jenkins

[52] M. Foulet holds [Rom. Forsch., XXII (1906) p. 625] that Marie turned to the *Espurgatoire* because it was a good story, not on account of the theology which it exemplified. I believe she regarded the story as being literally true, for the sort of supernatural adventures therein presented was normally accepted without question by her contemporaries in general.

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states,[53] only 22 lines of her own. None of these is an important alteration of the text of H[enry] of Saltrey; however, the lightness, conviction, enthusiasm and life that Marie has transfused into the work with just a turn of an expression here and there makes of this translation a literary work worthy of the consideration of the student of the Middle Ages.[54]

The Espurgatoire is of particular importance as an expression of a phase of Mediaeval religious thought. The general idea back of the work has much in common with the framework of the *Divine Comedy*. If today the architecture of Dante's masterpiece is the least interesting side of it, such has not been the case for very long; the *Divine Comedy* and the *Espurgatoire* are both a part of the vast movement of popularization of certain ecclesiastical concepts of the Middle Ages. The only possible influence Marie de France could be said to have had on Dante is that she contributed fairly early to the popularization of voyages to the other world and that she helped to prepare the public for the work of the master; but various other means were being used to express the same ideas. A cathedral in the XIIth century without a Last Judgment in stone, glass, tapestry, embroidery, ivory, enamel, mosaic, fresco or

[53] *Espurgatoire*, ed. of 1903, p. 6.

[54] The following is a brief résumé of the *Espurgatoire:* Marie's Prologue (1-8); H[enricus] of Saltrey's prologue (9-30); St. Gregory's opinions on the after-life (31-188); the preaching of the second St. Patrick and the founding of the Abbey (189-502); Owein's descent into the Purgatory (503-1262); the entrance to Hell (1263-1400); Sermon (1401-84); Earthly Paradise (1485-1794); Paradise, Owein's return to the gate of the Purgatory and the rest of his life (1795-1932); Gilbert of Louth bears witness to the narrative (1933-2056); Epilog of H[enricus] (2057-62). Discussions, digressions, the stories of the Wicked Peasant and of the Priest and the Girl (2057-2296). Marie's Epilogue (2297-2302).

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wood was exceptional.[55] Just as the style of the craftsmen was cramped because they were copying Byzantine miniatures, the style of many writers of Saints' lives was held down by their faithfulness to a narrow original. Saints' legends opened to the artist a vast field for self-expression. When anyone had a preternatural experience the fact was soon published in many forms for the edification of worshippers. Works such as Marie's translation of the *Espurgatoire* created the demand on the part of the people for plastic representations of the same subjects.[56]

Now one of the very earliest ideas to be portrayed in stone was that of the Apocalypse. Scenes from the Apocalypse such as the Last Judgment, which lent itself particularly to monumental sculpture, are so closely related to the ideas Marie was popularizing, that they must at least be mentioned in passing. The struggle of the body and the soul was amply portrayed in the XIIIth century.[57] The descent into Hell of Jesus, and Judgment, Hell and Heaven in general are given such extended development in letters and in the graphic arts of the Middle Ages, that their importance to the people can not be exaggerated.[58]

While Thomas Aquinas seems to have held that certain of the tortures of hell should be regarded as symbolical,[59] the provincial clergy were less intelligent and

[55] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe, du XIIIe et de la fin du moyen âge en France,* shows to what extent the doctrines of the church were being set forth in images for the education and the stimulation of the unlettered public.

[56] Mâle, op. cit., I, p. 365, ss.

[57] Mâle, op. cit., II, p. 199, ss.

[58] Mâle, op. cit., II, p. 369, ss.

[59] *Summa,* Sup. to 3rd part, Quaest: XCVII, art. 2. "Utrum vermis quo affliguntur sit corporalis. Respondeo dicendum quod post diem iudicii in mundo innovato non remanebit ali-

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perhaps more credulous; the legends about saints usually grew up in the country parishes rather than in the scholastic centers.

Mâle shows that the very numerous painted or carved scenes representing Hell, Purgatory and Paradise are based upon the Purgatory of Saint Patrick as described in *The Vision of Tungdal, The Pilgrimage of Saint Brendan* and that of *Saint Owein.*[60] Details such as the gibbet and the boiling pot, which are found in the most primitive forms of the legend, persisted down to the beginning of the XVIth century in cathedrals, churches and even in insignificant country chapels. The tortures of Hell were repeated *ad absurdum* and the traditional details appear as late as 1491 in the *Calendrier des Bergiers* of Guyot Marchant.[61] If Hell was described largely by implication in XIIth century iconography, the gruesome details appeared in full after Marie's *Espurgatoire* and other works of the same nature had become popularized. When the popular imagination was fired by such works, the intellectual leaders of the church would have been powerless even if they had wished to control it.

It is not difficult to understand why the idea appealed to the popular imagination; the wanderings of the saints in the other world were much like the pilgrimages of sinners to Saint James' in Spain, to Rome or to the

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quod animal, vel aliquod corpus mixtum (nisi corpus hominis tantum): eo quod non habeat aliquem ordinem ad incorruptionem, nec post illud tempus sit futura generatio et corruptio. Unde vermis qui in damnatis ponitur, non debet intelligi esse materialis, sed spiritualis, qui est conscientiae remorsus: qui dicitur *vermis,* inquantum oritur ex putredine peccati et animam affligit, sicut corporalis vermis ex putredine ortus affligit pungendo. . . . ."

[60] Mâle, III, p. 467 ss.

[61] Mâle, III, p. 470.

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Holy Land. Pilgrims were protected by guardian angels just as Owein was protected by using the name of the Lord. A gesture in the right direction on the part of a pilgrim was practically capable of removing mountains; the courtesan Mary the Egyptian, by turning her back upon her wicked past and by going in person to the Holy Sepulchre, acquired such sanctity that when, at the point of death in the wilderness, she prayed to the Lord a ferocious lion appeared to dig a grave for her. Just as the pilgrims on earth followed a specific itinerary, so Saint Owein had a set route; the nearer he got to his destination, the more merit he acquired. At first when he was beset he called upon the name of the Lord with fear and trembling and was almost astonished when he was saved from the demons.

Quant li chevaliers a veü
De Deu la force e la vertu,
En lui s'afie fermement,
E atent plus seürement
Les turmenz u il deit entrer,
E ço que il deit trespasser. (907-12)

The second time, it was simply a matter of course that the name of Jesus would get him out of any difficulty (974-6) and likewise the third time (1029-32). The fourth time

. . . il a numé
Le nun Jhesu Christ dulcement;
Si fu delivres erranment. (1066-68)

The fifth time, he still breathes forth the blessed name of Jesus; Marie de France seems more touched by the result than either the saint or H[enry] of Saltrey. She here interpolates a couplet to the effect that it is a good name to name for it will save men from torment (1119-

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20). The sixth time, the formula is repeated with clock-like precision (1167-68). For the seventh (1220-22) and the eighth times (1259-60) no difficulty is experienced. The ninth time (1292 ss.), he had such faith in God that he *despised the demons* and called upon the name of Jesus. He was immediately taken off into the air. Marie could not help adding, naively, to stress the height to which he had been raised by the power of God, that it would have been perilous to jump down from such a height! The tenth and last time (1375-6) the saint still finds the name of the Lord efficacious to save him from demons who have no right to get him.

Other changes[62] which the poet saw fit to make in the work of H[enry] of Saltrey also testify to her religious fervor. *Sicque processio in ecclesiam rediit,* becomes:

> Vunt s'en od la processiun
> El mustier e funt oraisun
> Que Dieu ait pitié e merci
> Del chevalier dunt jo vus di. (688-70)

showing that Marie appreciated ecclesiastical pomp. She repeatedly emphasizes her text by interpolating an exclamation here and there: for example, after describing a gruesome set of tortures she adds menacingly:

> Chaitis est cil qui en tel peine,
> Par ses pechiez se traist e meine! (1019-20)

and later:

> Allas, que nuls deit deservir
> Qu'itel peine deüst suffrir. (1053-4)

[62] Jenkins (op. cit., p. 6) lists the noteworthy omissions, additions and other discrepancies.

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She reflects enthusiastically, in turn, upon the description of Paradise:

> Or nus doint Deus a deservir
> Qu'a ces joies puissuns venir. (1667-8)

Marie's changes from the original text comment the original in such a way as to make it much more vibrant with life; but for all that the poem has little to recommend it to the present day reader. It is clear from the nature of her interpolations that Marie looked upon the subject of her work with high seriousness; but more interesting than the ideas presented by the work was Marie's interest in those ideas, for it shows beyond question that at the time when this translation was made, Marie was a different person from the Marie of the period of the lays.

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III

CHARACTERIZATIONS AND STYLE

The stories recounted in the lays of Marie de France[63] would not amount to very much if they were

[63] *Gugemar.* A perfect knight named Gugemar whose only flaw was that he had never been in love goes on a hunt one day and shoots a doe on the hoof so that the arrow flies back and wounds him in the thigh. The doe speaks and tells him that he will never get well until he finds someone who will love him and whom he will love more than anyone ever loved before. He goes down to a nearby inlet and gets into a boat which he finds there. After he falls asleep the boat sails away and takes him to an ancient city beside a castle in which a jealous old man keeps his beautiful young wife and her companion. These ladies find Gugemar on the boat and invite him to stay with them until he is well. The mistreated young wife and the handsome Gugemar promptly fall in love with each other and with a little encouragement from the lady's companion make the best of the situation. After a time they are discovered but, having forseen that possibility, they had arranged a means of recognition, and they had sworn lifelong faithfulness to each other. Gugemar was put back into his magic boat and the lady was imprisoned. After a long time the lady decided that she could stand it no longer and that she would go down to the place where Gugemar had got into his boat if she could escape from the prison. When she reached the harbor the boat had returned so she got into it. It carried her to the castle of one Meriadus. When Gugemar, who fought in tournaments everywhere, recognized the lady he asked Meriadus to turn her over to him and that he would serve Meriadus for a certain period. Meriadus would not listen to reason and so Gugemar joined Meriadus' enemies and destroyed his castle and took his lady by force.

Lanval. Lanval was another perfect knight whose only flaw was that he was not attracted to the opposite sex. He was the son of a king but he was far from home and had no money. One day he went to the country alone and was approached by the maids of a wondrously beautiful and powerful fairy lady. She granted him wealth and power provided that he never mentioned her to anyone. All went well until the queen approached him one day to offer him her favors; Lanval refused her and she accused him of preferring his valets to fair ladies.

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related by a person of small talent. Even as Marie told them they are occasionally heavy with conventional figures, devices and situations. Hundreds of other

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Lanval insulted her then by making comparisons between his lady's maids and the queen. The queen had the king bring Lanval into court. But for the intervention of his friends, Lanval would have suffered; but they could not disprove the queen's statement that Lanval had insulted her. It was agreed that if Lanval could produce a proof that what he said was true he would be accquitted. The fairy lady appeared at the critical moment and saved the hero and took him away to Avalon.

Equitan. King Equitan loved the wife of one of his loyal supporters. The woman plotted to get rid of her husband so she could be queen. One morning, the husband surprised his wife and the king together. The latter, bewildered, jumped into the boiling bath which the wicked woman had planned for her husband and was scalded to death. The husband put the unfaithful wife head first into the same tub and was rid of them both.

Fraisne. This lay tells the story of a family in which the mother, having made insinuating remarks about a neighbor who had twins, promptly gave birth to two children, and, to avoid facing the music, had one of them taken to a convent wrapped in some fine and easily identifiable cloth. This child, who was named Fraisne because she had been found in an ash tree which grew beside the convent door, grew up and was loved by a powerful lord. She was persuaded to go away from the convent with him. Some time after, the lord married her twin sister; one could not marry a foundling no matter how good, true and beautiful she might be. Le Fraisne, Griselda-like, put her fine cloth on the nuptial couch to make it more fitting. The mother of course recognized the fine cloth. The archbishop of Dol annulled the marriage and all was well.

Bisclavret. This is the story of a woman who married a werewolf and wronged him by stealing his clothes when he was in the form of a wolf so that he could not regain his human form. The woman then married the man she had long since wanted to marry. The werewolf, when caught by the king's huntsmen, seemed so human that he was kept and domesticated. The first time he saw the wicked wife who had betrayed him, he bit off her nose. The king, not believing that his pet would have been so obstreporous without cause, forced the woman to confess. The wolf became a man again when he got his old clothes back. The woman's children were born without noses for several generations!

Les Dous Amanz. This is the story of a girl whose father forbade her to marry any man unless he could take her in his arms and carry her to the top of a certain mountain without

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stories from the Middle Ages in which there were jealous husbands, supernaturally impelled boats, talking animals, magic beds, wicked captors, separated and re-

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putting her down. She sent the young man whom she loved to Salerno where he could get some medicine which would double his strength. While he was getting the medicine, she ate little or nothing so as to make herself as light as possible. On the day of the test, he took her easily to a point very near the top. She urged him to swallow the stimulant but he still felt so strong that he refused to drink the potion which he had brought along to fortify himself. He dropped dead on arriving at the summit. There was nothing for the girl to do but to die with him.

Yonec. A young wife whom a jealous husband kept imprisoned often received the visits of a man-bird. Once her lover, having been wounded on some spikes put out by the jealous husband, went home bleeding. The lady threw herself out of the window and followed him. When she found him, he was at the point of death but he told her to bring up their child which she was to have, for the child was to avenge his death. When the boy, Yonec, was grown the prophecy came true. At the proper time, the young man killed the so-called father and became king, mounting the throne which had been waiting for him since the death of his father.

Laüstic. An unmarried man lived next to a friend who was married. He loved the beautiful wife of his friend and finally won her affection. They could see each other from their windows and they could talk with each other sometimes. Whenever the nightingale sang, they would both go to the window and listen and to look at each other. The husband, objecting to her getting up to listen to the nightingale, had the bird caught. He killed it before her eyes. She sent it to her friend who had a magnificent reliquary made of fine metals and precious stones in which it was kept forever after.

Milon. A perfect knight named Milon was loved by the daughter of a baron. She arranged a meeting. He left her his ring. When a son was born to her, she put the ring on a chain around his neck and sent him to her sister to bring up. Many years later, Milon was conquered in a tournament by this very son. The recognition scene is the high spot of the poem.

Chaitivel. A lady who, having four perfect knights for suitors, agrees to accept the one who shall win in a tourney in which they are to contend. Only one survives and he is so grievously wounded as to be an invalid. He is, he claims, more wretched than those who were killed for he sees the object of his love constantly and can talk to her; he is still in torture, while for the other three the grief is all over.

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united lovers and the like have long since fallen into desuetude. If we are to determine the real value of the lays of Marie de France we must study her characters,

Chievrefueille. Tristan in exile, always longing to see the queen, went to Cornwall and heard that the royal train would soon pass on the way to Tintagel where the court was to be held. He cut a twig from a hazel tree, squared it on one side and wrote his name on it. He had told Iseult before that he and she were like the hazel and the honeysuckle: if the hazel were cut off he would die and that she, the honeysuckle, was equally dependent on him. When the queen saw the hazel twig, she looked and saw his name on it. Then she told her escorts that she wanted to stop and rest. The lovers had a pleasant meeting while the faithful Branguein stood on guard. Iseult told him how sorry King Mark was for having sent him away. They wept when it was time to part. Tristan went back home until the king should send for him. He was so happy over the meeting with Iseult that he made a lay so as to remember the words.

Eliduc. Eliduc, a fine knight, happily married, the king's right-hand man, was envied by his rivals. They lied about him and had him dismissed. He went away to the kingdom of Logres where he served a powerful king and wrought wonders of strategy in his behalf. The king's daughter heard of him and sent for him. He went to see this clever princess, Guilliadon. He returned home afterwards, remembering her face and her smiles and regretting that he had not seen her every day. But he remembered too his wife and he determined not to break faith with her. However, he and Guilliadon were on good terms when the king, his first lord, hard pressed by war, sent messengers to invite him back to his old position of power and confidence. He was sorry to leave, but he had to do it. When he took leave, he promised to return.

When Eliduc had done what he could for his original lord, he took leave of him and of his good wife, and, taking along some of his nephews who were sworn to secrecy, he returned to Logres where he got the princess and fled back to his ship. During the crossing a storm came up and a seaman suggested throwing the illegitimate wife overboard. Eliduc refused but the woman fell into a trance when she learned that she was the victim of a bigamist. He took her to a chapel in a hermitage near his home and visited her daily. When his real wife found this out she brought the sleeping princess to life by a trick which she had seen a weasel use to bring his mate back to life. Then to decomplicate the situation, the first wife withdrew into a monastery. Eliduc and Guilliadon were both so grateful to her that they too went into monasteries to which they gave much wealth.

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who may be said to have understood and even to have analyzed each other, the peculiar reality of their conversations, Marie's subtle psychological analyses[63a] and her charming use of the obvious machinery of romance. Let us first consider a few of the characters.

Gugemar is a typical *ideal knight.* Besides being well born, he has the advantages of education, travel and experience. He had been knighted and equipped by King Arthur himself. His one flaw was that he was shy and tactless when it came to women. He liked his dear mother and the rest of his family very much, Marie tells us, and they loved him. Now in spite of his reticence, the girls and even married women fell in love with him and made advances towards him. All was in vain. His friends therefore considered him crazy. The advances of the women naturally made him all the more shy. Such implications as Marie is constantly throwing in are probably the result of her careful observation of the people around her.

We are shocked when, on a hunt, Gugemar tries to kill a deer which has a faun; but Gugemar exhibited few subtleties. Simple soul that he was, he was not so much struck by the fact that the beast spoke to him

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Guingamor. The hero refuses the favors of his queen. The queen tries to get vengeance. On a hunt the hero finds near a spring a girl-swan who is bathing. They live happily for several centuries in fairy-land. He comes back to earth for a visit, forgets her instructions and is punished by her immediately. They become reconciled and he returns with her to the land of eternal youth.

[63a] S. F. Damon, *Marie de France: Psychologist of courtly love.* PMLA, XLIV, 968-996 (Dec., 1929). This study considers the symbolic significance of incidents, objects and characters in the *Lays* and presents a cogent argument as to the artistic self-consciousness of Marie de France. Prof. Damon draws other conclusions which can not be presented in the present work which is ready to go to press.

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as by the prophecy which she pronounced. He believed her implicitly. He was the kind of person who could be persuaded that supernatural things were going to happen to him; natural law, indeed, had little place in the consciousness of such people. Gugemar, therefore, moved as in a dream until the moment when he was wakened to reality by the stimulus of love. He had always done what he had been told to do; when the deer told him of the extraordinary *destiny* which awaited him, he was perplexed, but he did not hesitate at all about setting out to fulfill it. He did not know where in the world he would ever find a woman he could love so much as the deer announced, but he never thought for a moment of resisting fate.

He was only slightly disturbed by the strangeness of a number of things and he accepted all the weird happenings without question. The whole adventure was *terra incognita* to him. It was love that he was seeking, love in the abstract; the deer, whoever she was, had told him to seek love. His head apparently could not be turned by any ordinary means. Fear, weakness, pity and strangeness had to take Gugemar out of his cock-sure frame of mind. Having arrived in port, Gugemar did not fall in love with the strange woman on first sight; although the heroine was so moved that she could barely speak, the hero spoke some twenty-five lines of which only three showed any interest in the lady or her surroundings. When she offered to share her quarters with him, he thanked her coolly and accepted. He was even unmoved at the solicitous cares on the part of the ladies. But finally, after his wound had been well cared for and had ceased to pain him and after he had stopped thinking about his own country,

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he began to feel uneasy. He did not know just what was the matter. He sent the maid to bed but still he could not fall asleep. He realized, at length, that the deer was right and that if the woman did not care for him, he would never get well. All night he was tormented by various aspects of her beauty. He almost cried out in the night but he controlled his voice.

Fortunately for him, the lady's companion was less naive than he was: when he questioned her about her mistress, she took the situation in hand, recognized that he was in love and advised him to take courage. He asked for advice. The maid's help was really superfluous for all the hero needed to do was to speak his mind. After much hesitation, Gugemar brought himself to address his hostess in a very conventional manner. His request brought forth the conventional rebuff; but love gave him more and more wit. Gugemar told the lady that only women of insecure reputations need to be careful and that worthy women not only could but ought to get all the pleasure possible when they found a man to their liking. He swore vigorously that he would always be faithful to the woman.

When the irate husband appeared, Gugemar acted right nobly: against considerable odds, he put up a good show of defense. He would certainly have damaged someone, the poet says. His answers to the questions of the old man were almost automatic. The astute old man did not believe a word of such explanations. Indeed Gugemar never seemed very real except when the lady was concerned. Gugemar's sense of the theatrical is shown by his praying for death when he was put adrift instead of drowning himself.

Having been faithful to the lady for a long, long

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time, he saw her at the castle of Meriadus but he could not believe it was she, for, after all, women look rather alike, he said. He spoke to her only because she looked like his lady. At this point he seems again to be a real person. He forgets about good manners to the extent of not paying any attention to Meriadus' sister. His excitement was such that he could hardly believe his eyes when the lady untied the knot; he was not fully convinced until he found that she still had on his belt. After the recognition, the hero bends every effort to fulfill her one request: that he take her away from that castle. Without subtleties he proposes a generous bargain. When forced to fight he wreaks a terrible vengeance on Meriadus.

He has played the part which a correct lover, properly encouraged, would naturally play. The awakening of his love was slow but its effect upon him was immense.

The lady and her maid are much more real people than Gugemar. Shut up as they were, they had had no experience of the world and little knowledge about life. Reasonably enough, they reacted differently to the various situations. The young girl was bold and adventuresome; she had not been imposed upon as the lady had. She was thoroughly in sympathy with the lady and by no means jealous. She was a perfectly normal and romantic creature. She knew that her uncle was not the kind of man for his young wife and she resented the situation. She knew perhaps more about the state of affairs than one would expect of a proper maiden of her age; but young people always know more than the older ones think. She makes a charming picture of youth and grace when she throws off her mantle

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and hastens on board the strange bark where the older woman fears to go.

Marie de France seems to resent the lady's unhappy state more than she herself does. The lady had been faithful to her husband only because he kept her behind locked doors; when she saw a handsome knight she instinctively felt sympathy for him and put her hand upon his broad chest. He became an embodiment of all her unexpressed hopes and longings. When she first saw the boat she wanted to flee but she merely blushed and felt disturbed. The maid easily persuaded her to go to the boat. They both ran down to the water's edge. Here again the lady hesitated, but she was becoming more and more bold. When the girl returned with the story that there was a knight on board, alone, the lady reacted eagerly to the news. When the maid suggested that he was probably dead the lady did not give up: If he were dead, they would bury him, she said; if he were alive he would be able to speak. The lady is now bold enough to take the lead. She feels sorry for him; she wants to help. Hoping against hope, she puts her hand on his chest and finds it is warm and that his heart is beating regularly. She weeps when he awakes. Why should she weep? It is a tremendous moment; the last five minutes have been too much for her. In all her life she has not experienced so many strange emotions. She is weeping and perplexed. Sympathy with the handsome knight and distrust of the stranger, desire to help the weak man and uneasiness in the presence of the strong man are emotions between which she is torn. How did he get there? Where did he live? And, particularly romantically, was he exiled on account of war?

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He had had a marvelous adventure. He is ill. He has had a hard time. He needs a sister, a mother, a wife. What situation could be imagined which could be more sure of results in the heart of woman?

When the lady gives the description of the jealous husband and his treatment of her, she is not meekly saying at random that he has a beard and an evil temper; she makes of him a veritable fiend. If Gugemar's tone was one of resignation and bewilderment, that of the lady was one of conviction and purpose. When she mentions the priest-eunuch who guards the gate, she abandons gentility to the extent of cursing him heartily. Painting her situation as that of a woman imposed upon, she assumes the responsibility of asking the knight, the stranger, the weak, the handsome, the possible rival of her husband to stay with them in concealment until he is well enough to continue on his way.

If it had been a mere matter of helping the knight they could have called for help and the poor knight would have been amply cared for by any lady in the town; the custom, the law of hospitality demanded that wounded strangers be cared for. But the lady did not think of this for a moment; she felt the need of doing the thing herself. With what gentleness did she wash his thigh in her golden basin. How carefully she removed the clotted blood from the wound. Ah, says Marie, they held him in great affection.

That night while Gugemar tossed and struggled with the vision of the beautiful lady which haunted him, the lady was likewise succumbing to the onrushing tide of love. But she did not understand why she should not be able to sleep. She rose before daylight complaining about the sleepless night. The maiden un-

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derstood that she loved the knight; the lady herself did not know at all whether she loved or not. As soon as the service in her chapel was over the lady hastened to her room to find out whether he was awake or asleep; she apparently sensed the situation now. She was now bold enough to send word to the knight to speak his mind regardless of what might happen.

When Gugemar spoke to her, she showed, naturally enough, a trace of the woman she had been before the boat and the knight appeared; she declared concisely that she was not accustomed to that sort of thing. However, as soon as the knight had pronounced Marie's famous hints on the proprieties for lovers, the lady withdrew all objections to his proposals. She had undergone an immense change in twenty-four hours: from the timorous young wife who wanted to flee at the very sight of a boat to an enthusiastic paramour! The remarkable part of it is that the different steps of the change are so artistically described or suggested by the poet that one is not at all shocked by the radical change.

After a year and a half of companionship with her lover, the only happy and complete living she had ever experienced, her feminine intuition told her that she was going to lose him. She thereupon proclaimed that she would die if he were killed but that if he could escape alive he must do it: he would find someone else to love and she would stay behind in grief.

During the scene between the lover and her husband, the lady becomes again her shy, shrinking self. We can vaguely see the pathetic figure trying weakly to protect Gugemar against her husband who has a number of men with him. She can say nothing, disgraced as she is.

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Two years of imprisonment and suffering after the departure of Gugemar brought the heroine to the point of regretting the whole affair. She would drown herself if she could reach the water where she had last seen him; that would be to identify herself with him. In a daze, thinking only her lover had probably been drowned, she dragged herself down to the water's edge. Finding the boat, she entered it, crazed and always looking for her lover.

Two years in prison and the unhappy trip on the mysterious boat leave her pale and of a fairy-like beauty. In spite of the efforts of Meriadus to please her, she is sad and preoccupied. As soon as she hears from Meriadus of the existence of a man who answers to the description of her knight, she is sure that it is Gugemar. Her display of feminine intuition is in striking contrast to the almost stupid Gugemar who said, upon seeing her for the first time in two years: "Women look very much alike."

The recognition scene shows us the lady very touchingly. While the sister of Meriadus was trying to loosen the knot, the lady's heart was in a state of great tension. How she would have liked to try it. Oh if she could just get her hands on it! Oh if she just dared! After she recovers from the excitement of loosening the knot she tells her sad story. Marie artistically rehearses some of the details and puts only one line into the mouth of the heroine, one tender, beseeching plea: "Amis, menés ent vostre drue." For the lady to have related the whole story would have been laborious; Marie saved the situation by emphasizing the most disheartening details and avoided the conventional repetition of what took place during the sep-

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aration. Having led us step by step to the recognition scene, Marie leaves us to imagine the hopes and fears of the lady while Gugemar was claiming her before all those witnesses. We have to imagine her disappointment when Meriadus rebuffed Gugemar, her despair when she saw Gugemar leave and her satisfaction when she saw all his men and many others ride away with him. Marie has presented such a vivid picture of the heroine in various circumstances that although she does not mention her during the siege we see her none the less weeping and exulting as the tide of the attacks come and go.

In *Lanval,* the queen is the same old libidinous Guinivere. Marie shows her in an unsuccessful attempt to seduce a handsome young knight; unsuccessful, she becomes a virago. Lanval himself is a picture of the perfect knight. He is dignified and polite even in the most trying situations. When he is rude to the queen, it is at a moment when good manners are hardly *de rigueur.* Any knight ought to find some profit from hearing how such a knight behaved. The friends of Lanval were mannerly youths who were most eager to be helpful. They were as naive as sentimental girls who have been brought up on romantic novels: they saw a solution to the hero's difficulties in every newcomer. The king, Arthur though he was, had a little more personality than he usually showed in his official capacity as, shall we say, interlocutor. The queen, a good actress who faints convincingly and who can make *disappointment* look like *shame,* has persuaded him that Lanval is a blackguard. Why should not even King Arthur be angry, human, unjust, vindictive and even

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childish? The resistance offered him in the first place and, later, the deliberateness of the jury was enough to exasperate him. That opposition, along with the constant coaxing of the queen, would provoke any king to wrath. The grand old Duke of Cornwall is a beautiful evocation of a Mediæval judge; his clear and eloquent speech the subject of justice is very gratifying and instructive. There was to be no trial by fire nor by battle here; the duke would have no jumping at conclusions merely because the king was the plaintiff. The fairy lady was of course not human and could hardly be expected to have human characteristics; if she struck an occational human attitude, it is perhaps because Marie was thinking of herself in that beneficent rôle.

Few of Marie's personages are more than types; Gugemar and his lady are two of the rare characters in Mediæval literature who undergo a distinct development. Although Marie's characters are described in brief as a rule, they stand out clearly and could be taken as representative XIIth century types as well as almost any in the literature of the century.

Marie is careful always to state where the action of a lay took place. She often attaches the story to other well-known forms of the legend by mentioning King Arthur or one of his associates. She refers sometimes to such institutions of the Middle Ages as the church, the court of justice and the like. The localization of each lay is a part of the introductory formula; the *where* was of course an important point in Mediaeval epic literature [cf. J. Bédier, *Les Légendes Epiques*]. This could be counted upon to appeal to the general *desire to know* which was being ever more

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strongly felt among the pilgrimage-making French and English.

In *Gugemar,* Lion is a large region in Brittany which is given a local color which could be applied to any region along a rocky coast. *Equitan* and *Chaitivel* have Nans and Nantes as settings. Nantes was of course an important place and had been a considerable trading center from prehistoric times; in these poems it is given no characteristics of its own. Perhaps the person whom Marie had heard tell the stories was from that region. The real archbishop of Dol may have had some bearing upon *Le Fraisne;* the archbishopric was tottering and was to fall in 1199.[64] Perhaps the incumbent had an axe to grind and was trying a well-known ecclesiastical trick to increase the popularity, income and prestige of his diocese. *Bisclavret* is merely placed in Brittany. The action of *Lanval* begins at Cardoeill where Arthur had gone on account of Scots and Picts who were entering the land of Loengre (Logres). The action goes back and forth to fairyland. The unreality of the whole setting, except the trial scene, shows us that this, as well as other lays, might have been set in any other place just as easily. The remoteness of Northern England justified the strangeness of the story. The question as to whether the legend might have been intentionally attached to the Cumberland district by the laureate Marie, might give room for ingenious speculation. It is perhaps too much to suggest that she may have been trying to stimulate interest in the time-honored strife along the Scottish border by setting the delightful story there at a time when the great King Arthur was there to put down an invasion of the almost proverbial Picts and

[64] Gaston Paris, *Rom.* XIV (1895) p. 598.

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Scots. The *Deux Amants,* whose locale is more specifically described than that of any other lay, seems at first glance much more authentic than the others; but when we consider that the city of Pistre was built beside the "hill of the two lovers" and that the marble sarcophagus was put on the top of the hill by the decision of a general council in a country of which "nos savon bien" in connection with the Mediaeval talent for etymologies and explanations of place names, we are forced to conclude that the story explains the name and not the name the story. In this lay, the lover goes down to Salerno with no more ado than he would have made in going on a hunt; we cannot assume from this that Marie knew nothing of the difficulties of a trip of almost a thousand miles. She was merely using a geographical name which in one of the fables [LXVIII, 36] had seemed to be the sort of place one would get medicine. In *Yonec* the places named have little relation to each other or to the story. Caruent in Brittany on the Dualas is the place from which the heroine takes off for fairy land. The dark city, asleep and gleaming in the moonlight is a city of fairy land which falls into the category of marvelous cities which are said to have their source in cities seen or imagined by crusaders and other pilgrims to the Holy Land. The denoument of *Yonec* takes place on "Saint Aaron's day which is celebrated at Carlion by the people and the monks of the great monastery."[65] It is possible that this Carlion was a particular monastery and that this passage was purely and simply a localization with a view to advertisement. However, it is difficult to see

[65] In the *Lai de l'espine* there is a mention of the church of Saint Aaron at Cardiff. (Hist. Litt., XVI, p. 172.)

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just how the heroine could find her way back and forth. On the final trip, as no one knows the way, a young boy leads them. To complicate the situation, there is a monastery in this strange place. Of course there had to be a church in which the father's tomb could stand; perhaps that explains the mixture of pagan and Christian elements. The geographical details of *Yonec* are so thoroughly askew that they can hardly be said to have been included for verisimilitude. The action of *Laüstic* takes place in the country "near Saint Malo." No description of the locality is given. In *Milon* again, we find the same Carlion as the place where the trained swan was caught. The action shifts from South-Wales to Northumbria and down to St. Michel in Brittany where there was a tournament. The statement that there were only a few English at the tourney [*Milon*, 388] seems to run counter to the idea that Marie was glorifying the English crown and country; however, the scarcity of English may have been intended to give the tournament a more far-away appearance or even to pique the English to greater chivalrous activity. *Chievrefueil* naturally retains the locale of the Tristan legend. *Eliduc* opens in Brittany. The hero goes across to the kingdom of Logre in England and meets the princess near Exeter. He goes back and forth across the Channel twice.[66]

The genre *lai* had from the very beginning more or less specifications as to the place where the adventure took place; as the lays purported to be true stories, the lack of geographical data would have been a serious

[66] cf. F. Lot, *La Patrie des "lais bretons."* *Rom.* XXVIII, (1899), pp. 1-49. Brugger, *Ueber die Bedeutung von Bretagne, Breton.* (ZFSL, XX (1898), pp. 79-162.)

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drawback to verisimilitude. It does not seem likely that Marie made any changes from the places mentioned in the originals which she was retelling but the possibility of an ulterior motive on her part in her use of proper names should be noted.

At the beginning of each lay, Marie states also the time at which the action of the lay took place. These rather vague indications undoubtedly seemed fairly definite to the unquestioning public of the Middle Ages. *Gugemar,* she says, took place *al tens ancienor* in the time when Artus held the country. The passing of time too is carefully set down. Specific statements of *two years or three,* or *after three months* seem naive when they are thrown out of scale by general terms such as *in the olden days. Equitan* is one of the lays "they used to make of chivalrous deeds which were done in those days." *Fraisne, Yonec* and *Les Deux Amanz* took place *jadis.* In *Laüstic* and *Bisclavret,* the characters *used to dwell* in Brittany. *Lanval* took place about at Pentecost in Arthur's reign during a campaign against the Picts and Scots, a ripe old yesterday and an irresistible time of summer. *Milon* and *Chaitivel* contain no indications about time except by implication; they had taken place not long before. *Chievrefueil* is merely placed in relation to the legend of which it is a part. The time of Eliduc is very vague.

Marie doubtless intended to build up a certain air of authenicity by these chronicle-like items; the effect she actually gets is one of childlike simplicity. This very unsophisticated approach of Marie, her naive acceptance of absurdities, her way of emphasizing useless and incredible details, all these give to her lays an air of youth and freshness.

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In a work which belongs to the early period of a literature we usually expect an awkwardness of style corresponding to the archaic language. Nevertheless Marie's style is usually clear and direct. Often her short, rhyming lines fairly fly along so that the action progresses by leaps and bounds. The author herself appears not only in such conventional expressions as *Oies, Segnor,* but in frequent and eloquent asides which emphasize the action and the characterizations. She is particularly given to comments upon the feelings of lovers:

N'est merveille se il s'esmaie
Que grant dolor a de sa plaie (Gug. 187-8)

or

Se il seüst qu'ele sentoit
Et com Amors le destragnoit
Mout en fust lis, mien ensient (Gug. 407-9)

and

Ensanble juent et parolent
Et souvent baisent et acolent.
Bien lor couviegne del sorplus
De ce que li autre ont en us. (Gug. 519-22)

The style of the raconteur who himself has immense enthusiasm and interest is maintained almost without a lapse. Marie is personally concerned about what happens to the characters; she does not hesitate to admit it. In spite of her almost minstrel-like gaiety, which in spots shines through the soft blue haze of the poems, and in spite of the numerous and vigorous protests against stupid or unreasonable people, Marie keeps the fairly even tone of a gifted story-teller who knows how to economize both in incidents and in expressions and how to be lavish with them.

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When Marie heard the stories told, they were doubtless in the form of ordinary anecdotes such as the author of *Lecheor* carefully describes.[67] In general the adventures were regarded as true; if people seriously believed in such Saints' legends as that of Owein, and they unquestionably did, why should they not believe the story of Gugemar which has many points in common with it? The assertion of Denis Piramus that the lays were not at all true shows that they were regarded by some people as authentic accounts of real events.[68]

Marie's use of exceedingly unlikely or even impossible incidents testifies to her lack of *l'esprit critique* and the sense of awe, which is everywhere in the lays, indicates the lack of a sense of humor. Whatever the form in which she heard the stories, she accepted them in the main so far as incident is concerned; but it is she who is responsible for whatever artistry is found in the lays; if they were close to their sources, which were certainly of a very diverse nature, we would find no evenness in style in the lays as a whole.

A more straightforward account of what is going on is sometimes to be seen in the version of the lays found in the MS. P than is found in the other MS. versions; the way the climax of *Lanval* is prepared, the description of the room in *Gugemar* (229 ss.) and the discovery of the sleeping hero (*Gug.* 261ss.) are examples of the manner in which the versions differ. Marie de France was, thanks to her long and serious study, an exceptionally careful writer; her clear style

[67] Published by Gaston Paris, *Rom.* VIII, p. 29.

[68] Montesquieu (XXVIII, c. 22) cites a Lombard law by which contestants in a trial by battle were required to swear they had no "herbes propres aux enchantements" on their persons. (Cited in *Hist. Litt.* XVI, p. 172.)

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and her economy of words and figures, her skill in handling characters, emotions and incidents argue that the good points found in the MS. P are due to her rather than to a scribe.

Along with the striking clarity which we have observed in the lays there is an equally striking tone of vagueness, a sort of dream-like quiet, a mysterious calm which is evoked at the very beginning of some of them. The plots themselves add to this effect for they are slight and consequently elusive. The lack of motivation of actions or correlation of incidents adds still further to the tone of vagueness. Very often, also, Marie changes from the very general to the very specific with somewhat the bewildering effect of a sudden change of focus of a field glass. In *Gugemar,* for example, we are given many details about the hero and his family but we are told practically nothing about the heroine who occupies the center of interest for a large part of the time; we are not even told her name. Marie handles her characters with no little sophistication but she treats ideas and supersitition with naïveté and credulity; such incongruity heightens the effect of intended haziness which makes us see the action as a brilliant pageant seen through a spangled veil.

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IV

ORIGINALITY OF MARIE DE FRANCE

Where did Marie get the plots of the lays? She herself says repeatedly that she had heard the stories told; there is no reason to believe the contrary for there is no more likely source. The stories were simply anecdotes such as are always told when people talk together; they were circulated as more or less true about more or less known people in more or less known places. Boccaccio, Marguérite de Navarre, Mérimée, Daudet, Mark Twain, Maupassant and in fact all writers of stories have taken stories from life.

The lays have probably derived from Celtic, Byzantine, Classical and Biblical legends but all of them had been heard in Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, the Ile de France and in England. Those who hold that Marie or other French people of the XIIth century habitually sat and listened to *jongleurs* singing in Celtic are a little romantic; no circumstantial evidence could convince one that the Frenchman of today, almost a personification of the "esprit critique," descended from a race of people whose greatest pleasure was so recently to listen to something of which they could not understand a word.[69]

[69] M. J. Bédier (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, p. 851) describes an incident from the *Roman de Renard* in which Renard, disguised as a jongleur, is saying, in an illiterate language, that he can sing for Ysengrin various Breton lays. M. Bédier considers this a reflextion of the real situation; bilingual Bretons may have been more or less numerous but it is difficult to see how it could have become generally popular among the

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It is not at all likely that Marie knew any Celtic language; it has already been pointed out by M. Foulet that the word *l'aostic,* to which Marie prefixed an additional definite article, indicates embarrassment on her part. If she had ever learned a few words of any foreign language, she is just the kind of person who would delight in using them; foreign words have a charm, an exotic fascination for a person who knows but few of them. Marie's explanation of *Garolf,* which she says is the Norman word for the Breton *Bisclavret,* is in line with the Mediaeval mania for explaining derivations of words, the word *Bisclavret* being, as Foulet points out, not Celtic but Norse and there being no need anyway of explaining Norman words to French speaking people in terms of Celtic.[70]

The numerous mentions which Marie, her contemporaries and followers made or seemed to make of the lay-making Bretons and Celtic originals must be looked upon as a device to identify their own work with the often praised *lais bretons.* But what were these *lais* and why were they identified with the Celtic bards? M. Foulet has collected what Marie has to say about the matter: "Jadis, au temps des anciens Bretons (*Equit.,* 3; *Elid.,* 1182), quant une aventure était arrivée parmi les barons (*Equit.,* 1-3), on prenait plaisir à se la raconter, elle circulait de bouche en bouche (*Equit.,* 5-6; *Prolog,* 36; *Laustic,* 157 etc.); puis c'etait une mode très en honneur que d'en faire un lai pour en con-

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French to listen to broken French. The incident might be interpreted as a thrust at the conventional literary deception: The fox, the joker, the deceiver trying successfully a traditional bit of decorative deception.

[70] Foulet, *Marie de France et les Lais Bretons,* ZFRP, Vol. XXIX, 1905, p. 19 and 293.

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server le souvenir (*Prolog* 35-38; *Equit.*, 7-8; *Elid.*, 1183-4; *Guing.*, 675-6); ce lai portait généralement le nom du héros de l'aventure (*Chaitiv.*, 201-203; *Elid.*, 21-26; *Guing.*, 677); c'etait une mélodie qu'on pouvait proablement aussi chanter sur des paroles (*Guing.*, 885-6); parfois le lai n'etait composé que longtemps après que l'aventure elle-mêne était arrivée (*Yonec*, 559-60); il pouvait donc y avoir des aventures qui se transmettaient sans donner naissance à un lai."[71] The only time Marie says anything specific about the music (Bone est a en oïr la note),[72] she is making a more or less conventional statement; she does not claim that she herself had heard the music. Such a vague mention of the "note," which is obviously included to give an added glamor to the poem, does not prove that such music was still in existence. Such indications are, I believe, to be taken as the numerous other picturesque allusions to the Breton lays in the romance literature of the XIIth and the XIIIth centuries.

The original *lais bretons* must have been originally musical. Lyric songs were replaced by narrative words which fitted the "note"; the word *lai* naturally clung to the genre. Mediæval profane music, of which we have many examples, is hardly distinguishable from Mediæval church music;[73] to sing lyric or narrative words on a plain chant would be equally easy. The only lays of Marie de France which might even vaguely resemble the original lyric lays are the short ones such as *Chievrefueil* and *Chaitivel.*

Marie's using the word *lai* to refer to the traditional

[71] Foulet, loc. cit.
[72] *Gugemar*, 886.
[73] Jean Beck, *La Musique des Troubadours* (Coll. des Grands Musiciens).

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lyric lays as well as to denote her own narrative lays has been somewhat confusing. She apparently realized this possibility for she occasionally referred to her own poems as *contes*. Foulet[74] observes that in the prolog, which was of course written after, perhaps long after, some of the lays, Marie no longer spoke of the Bretons but of *those who composed the lays*. From Marie's time on, a lay is simply a poem more or less resembling the narrative poems of Marie.

It will not be out of place to examine some of the numerous explanations of the origin of the written lays. The following one is from *Doon*:[75]

> Doön, cest lai sévent plusor;
> N'i a gueres bon harpeor
> Ne sache les notes harper;
> Mes je vos voil dire et conter
> L'aventure dont li Breton
> Apelerent cest lai Doön.

The musicians knew a piece named *Doön* but the piece had no words, therefore the poet proposed to write the words. Perhaps some of the lays were written as "program notes" for the concerts of visiting musicians; we could easily believe that a Mediæval audience would be pleased by the explanation of any name. However, to take the passage absolutely literally and to generalize from it would be rash; but, on the other hand, to consider all such allusions as purely conventional material is to be unduly cautious. One is tempted to see in the written lays a development from a series of *chantefables* as M. Joseph Bédier suggests.[76]

The proposal that the written lays were "undoubtedly

[74] loc. cit.
[75] Pub. by Gaston Paris, *Rom.* VIII, p. 29.
[76] Rev. des *Deux Mondes*, loc. cit.

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sung" [77] is not tenable; even though one of the MSS of lays contains lines ruled for music, no MSS of lays contains any music and numerous MSS of the same period contain songs with music.

M. Foulet,[78] in an attempt to elucidate the lay-making process reconstructs conjecturally the composition of *Chievrefueil.* Marie had read the incident and heard it related.[79] To give it authenticity and to connect it with the tradition she said Tristan himself had made a lay to describe the incident for he knew well how to play on the harp. M. Foulet goes so far as to say that the much talked-of generation of Breton musicians was probably at best a series of clever harp players whose talent was of as literary an origin as that of Tristan!

The process of lay-making is described in the anonymous *Lecheor*[80] in still another manner: Knights and ladies met every year at Saint Pantelion to tell stories and make them into lays. The setting is not entirely unlike that of the *Decamerone.*[81]

[77] Hist. Litt. XIX, p. 799.

[78] Foulet: *Marie de France et la Légende de Tristan,* ZRP XXXII, 161 and 257.

[79] It would seem likely that Marie had heard the incident rather than that she had read it, in spite of the statement in line 6 of *Chievrefueil: E jeo l'ai trové en escrit.* In all the other short prologs she insists that her source is oral. The very nature of most of the theories point to an oral rather than to a written source. The expression *trové en escrit* could be interpreted *composed in writing.*

[80] Pub. by Gaston Paris, *Rom.* VIII, p. 29.

[81] An effort to show how Marie used the "lais bretons" which she "followed so closely that her lay can still be sung in couplets on the same traditional air" is that of Villemarqué (Barzaz-Breiz, p. 151-5). He claims that Marie translated a ballad called *Ann Eostik* which is still sung in Leon and which resembles *Le Laostic.* His demonstration was unsuccessful. See Gaston Paris, *Rom.* XIV, p. 604.

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The very fact that the numerous Mediæval explanations of the origin of the lay differ among themselves shows that they were literary rather than scientific explanations. As for the original *lais,* we have nothing left of them; they must have existed, however, and they must have stirred the imagination of their hearers for some of the vague mentions of them in romances of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries are among the most beautiful passages in all Mediæval literature.[82]

The large number of imitations of the narrative lays, Marie's own prolog which she wrote for a sort of definitive edition, and the already quoted reference of Denis Piramus show that the literary lays came to enjoy almost as great a reputation as the unwritten lyric lays.

While it is highly improbable that the subject of any lay was read by Marie de France in a MS. written in a Celtic language, some of the lays were doubtless derived in part from Celtic lore. What then are the Celtic elements of the lays? The trip of Saint Brendan is recognized as a source of such superhuman navigation as that described in Gugemar, Mr. A. C. L. Brown[83] describes a *Voyage of Maelduin,* a Celtic work which preceded the Xth century *Navigatio Sancti Brendan* and shows close relationships between the two as well as evidence that many of the pagan voyages had been utilized by Christian hagiographers. The channel crossing boats of the lays are paralleled by others in the Irish sources. Mr. Loomis points[84] out relationships

[82] Notably the passage of the *Tristan de Thomas,* Vol. I, p. 295. (Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr.)
[83] *Mod. Phil.,* XIV (1916), 385-404.
[84] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance,* p. 259.

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between a magically propelled craft of an Old Irish hero Manannan and Gugemar's boat. The island Avalon mentioned at the end of Lanval, which is one of several islands *from which one does not return* of Mediæval literature, may very well come to the French romances from Irish sources. Mr. Loomis describes a series of such places and, in particular, his Celtic Avalon, Glastonbury, the abode of a Maimed King. Avalon, as it appears in Lanval, is a sort of Earthly Paradise; it is not without a similarity to the Earthly Paradise of the church doctrine and is perhaps ultimately traceable to the Bible. While King Arthur, Queen Guinivere, the boat of Gugemar, the bed of Gugemar, the word *lai* and some of the plots are in all probability of Celtic origin; they were so commonly accepted and used by French writers of the XIIth century that they can be practically considered as romance conventions.

Other details of the stories could of course be given a complicated set of analogs. What is significant for my present purpose is that by including supernatural wonders Marie added, more or less unconsciously, to the fascination and richness of material gathered from all sides. The problem of whether the island of Avalon is a figment of the Celtic imagination or the Christians' Earthly Paradise adrift among the mysterious lore of the Celts will be studied at some future time.

Now although there is every indication that the stories told in the lays were of popular origin, the written form of the stories was considerably influenced by the early imitations of the Latin poets such as the *Roman de Thèbes, Piramus et Tisbé,* the *Roman d'Enéas* and the *Roman de Troie.* It is difficult to arrive at any

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precise information about the chronology of the writers of the second half of the XIIth century. Marie says that she had thought of translating some good *histoire* into French but that there were so many others doing the same thing she thought it was hardly worth the trouble. What sort of story was this if not a poem such as those of Statius or of Virgil? We may safely assume that Marie had read some of the older romances before she wrote the *Lais*. She knew Latin perfectly, of course, and had doubtless read what was available of Classical literature: she refers to the classical conventions about Fortune and her wheel (*Gug.* 538) and Cupid's arrows (*Gug.* l. 379 and *Lanval* l. 118).[85] She never misses an opportunity to use a nice description of a fine cloth or tapestry such as those used in the *Roman de Thèbes* (*Le Fraisne,* 123; *Lanval,* 85).[86] The figure of a witch such as the one Anna consults in *Eneas* is, according to M. E. Faral,[87] the counterpart of the medicine woman in the *Deux Amants;* so little is made of the latter, however, that one might say rather that the Salerno episode is simply a slight extension of the name which, as I have pointed out above, had appeared in one of the fables. Descriptions of cities such as the one in *Yonec* are to be matched by passages in several of the *romans* based on stories of antiquity or those on Byzantine material. Architectural splendor was certain to appeal to the reader especially if the building had supernatural attributes of one sort or another. Such sumptuous interiors as the apartment of the lady in *Gugemar* probably point to a classical ori-

[85] E. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois,* (Champion, 1913), p. 312.
[86] E. Faral, op. cit., p. 346.
[87] Faral, op. cit., p. 318.

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gin.[88] Marie must have known Ovid directly or indirectly in order to write the description of the mural decorations. In *Yonec* again, the tomb of the lover and father almost rivals that of Hector as it appears in *Troie* 16653 ss.[89] None of the finely adjusted Byzantine machinery is seen in *Yonec* but the setting of the tomb is introduced with so much ceremony that it is clear that Marie considered the tomb an important physical detail.

One of the characteristics of the romances based on Classical material is that very often the fine textiles are described both as to appearance and as to their makers and their provenience; Marie exhibits *pourpres Alexandrins*,[90] and *pailes de Constantinople*.[91] Just as in *Thèbes* the author says of the tent:

Li rois David ne Salmon 2951
N'ot tal aigle en son paveillon,

so Marie says of the tent of the fairy lady in *Lanval:*

La roïne Semiramis, 82
Quant ele eut onques plus avoir
Ne plus poiçance et plus savoir,
Ne l'emperere Octevian
N'esligascet le destre pan.

Then follows a further description of the tent which is crowned by the same eagle.[92] It has no supernatural qualities except its richness; this shows either that Marie's lays antedated the bulk of XIIth century romances or that she exercised remakable restraint in her descriptive passages. Nevertheless it can not be estab-

[88] Faral, op. cit., p. 324.
[89] Faral, op. cit., p. 326.
[90] *Gug.* 182.
[91] *Lan.* 102.
[92] Faral, op. cit., p. 328.

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lished that the lays preceded the earliest of the romances however logical it would be to suppose such to be the case.

Faral cites a number of passages from the romances and from the books of Exodus and the Apocalypse to show the source of the Mediæval knowledge of and interest in precious stones;[93] in the MS. P only do we find candlesticks which were set with precious stones:

Les pieres valent un tresor (*Gug.* 184).

The white doe which told Gugemar[94] his *destiny* is paralleled by a number of talking animals in the romances of Classical origin.[95] Marie's Fable XCI, *De cerva hinnulum instruente,* and XCVI,, *De lepore et cervo,* might possibly be the more immediate source of the doe and her faun; the rather naïve way in which Marie calls attention to the fact that the doe had a faun and that she had horns on her head shows that she was dealing with comparatively recently acquired information.

Certain ideas which delighted the imagination and the ear of the reader was the glory of famous historical figures such as Octavian or places such as Alexandria and Constantinople;[96] Marie often used such proper names in adjectival phrases for the effect of strangeness and magnificence. (*Lanval,* 85, 102; *Gug.* 182).

The attitude towards love seen in *Lanval,* is, as M. Faral shows, taken directly from Ovid. The queen's accusation of Lanval is undoubtedly Ovidian in origin; Marie's knowledge of abnormal sex practises is naturally traceable to literary sources. This special situa-

[93] Faral, op. cit., pp. 351 ss.
[94] *Gug.* 89.
[95] Faral, op. cit., p. 358.
[96] O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art,* p. 351.

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tion is of course in contrast to Marie's high conception of love as seen in the other lays.

As for Classical figures of speech, G. Biller[97] shows that Marie used practically every figure known in the works of the ancients. This very detailed study of Mr. Biller indicates that Marie, as naïve as she may appear, was far from unconscious of the art of writing. It is indeed a tribute to her talent that she could resort to all the artifices of the art and nevertheless keep her style simple and unaffected.

From Marie's classical allusions, it is impossible to tell whether she is merely citing certain type characters whom writers cite conventionally or whether she knew Latin literature at first hand. Let us therefore draw no conclusions from these; it is highly probable that Marie knew certain works of antiquity but it can not be proven. Cloth brought from Constantinople (*Fraisne,* 125), a heroine more beautiful than Venus, Dido or Lavinia (*Lanval,* 585-6), a tent which neither Semiramis nor Octavian could buy (*Lanval* 82), a picture in which Venus is throwing Ovid's book into the fire (*Gugemar,* 234), are sufficiently commonplace in the XIIth century to be called romance conventions.

In this connexion the question arises as to how much of the descriptive material used by Marie and her con-

[97] Gunnar Biller, *Etude sur le style des premiers romans français en vers,* 1150-1175. Extr. de Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift, Band XXII, 1916, Göteborg. The author cites examples of parallelism, gradation, annomination, polyptoton, epizeuxis, chiasmus, anaphora, repetition; metaphors of various sorts: human, plants, water, fire, light, ideas of power and authority, war and knighthood, commerce, communication, trades, eating and drinking, sickness and death, religion and teaching, ideas of place and height, games; metonymy of various kinds; synecdoche, paraphrase, distribution, comparison, personification, parenthesis; dramatic figures: apostrophe, exclamation, interrogation, direct discourse; etc., etc.

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temporaries is due to Latin originals and how much is due to the popular knowlegde and ideas of the glories of Byzantium. Scholars of art and iconography have shown exhaustively that Byzantine art had an important influence on that of the Occident. By the middle of the XIIth century, the plan, structure and decoration of Byzantine churches were of course known to architects and craftsmen all over Italy and France. Thousands of traders and pilgrims went back and forth to Constantinople and brought back objects of art and amazing descriptions of all sorts of wonders.[98] The cities of the Near East when described several months or years after they had been visited took on marvelous aspects which only the imagination of a Mediæval believer could accept and embroider upon. It is easy to understand how the colorful monuments of Byzantium and their luxurious decorative detail were impressive to the eyes of the inhabitants of the cold and colorless North, where the gray, almost menacing Romanesque churches had cradled their religious instincts; the amusing *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,* which is lightly ironic about the wonders of Constantinople is a proof that this state of affairs was already in existence at a very early date.[99]

Naturally enough, artists and writers of the Occident vied with each other in creating sumptuous textiles, rich jewels, elaborate paintings and all the paraphernalia of ecclesiastical pageantry; they were not to be outstripped by their brothers of the Greek Church. Thus many a

[98] Diehl, Manuel d'art Byzantin, Vol. II, p. 713.

[99] Mr. T. P. Cross and Mrs. L. H. Loomis present cogent arguments to establish the Celticity of the *Pèlerinage* (MP, XXV (1928) p. 117). The *Pèlerinage* might reasonably be regarded as a satire on pilgrims who came back with extravagant stories of the things they claimed to have seen.

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motive of Mediæval literature that is paralleled by either Roman, Byzantine, Norse, Celtic or Arabic culture had become so thoroughly French by the XIIth century that it does not need to be defined as foreign. Many of the Mediæval writers were purely and simply translators or imitators but in the lays, Marie was doing original work. She was one of those rare persons to whom genius, intelligence or sheer good fortune gives a flair for what is new and interesting.

Besides having created the literary genre *lai* and having done much towards establishing two other bodies of literature in France and England, Marie has left a set of charming pictures of the interesting and complicated society of Occidental Europe of the XIIth century. She does not furnish full details of the technique of hunting, of warfare, of religious rites and of the practise of the arts and crafts, nor precise psychological analyses and documentation upon the people involved but she does at least mention and sometimes evoke with remakable vividness many of the principal occupations and interests of the upper classes. In the brief space of thirteen short poems, less than 7000 octosyllabic lines, Marie has described with sincerity and charm the behavior of real people in a number of significant situations.

The hierarchy and the mechanics of chivalry are introduced by Marie as something which actually existed, not as something which had formerly been the vogue. We find, therefore, no tiring descriptions of every step in the education and experience of each character as in the meticulous *chanson de geste* cycles. However, scattered negligently through the lays, we find descriptions of the *nourri,* the young aspirant who

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travels to foreign lands seeking to prove his worth, the knight receiving arms from a great king, the custom of visiting tournaments, the custom of inviting free-lance knights to come to tournaments specifically to fight against one's enemy, the custom of giving service to an overlord or king in payment for favors or honors, and other such points about the knights so that the essentials of a life-history pass before the reader's eyes as incidental in the stories. Both the XIIth century hearers and the readers of our day are thereby instructed as to the education of the young knight.

Similarly there appear numerous indications about the manner in which people amused themselves, such as hunting, conversation, dancing and love-making, which throw a certain light upon the times without fatiguing the reader with the more or less meaningless details on these subjects which are so plentiful in many of the younger romances. We observe many obvious but interesting points about daily life: that washbowls, bathtubs and towels, clothes-trees and mounting-blocks "for fat men who came to the court" were in use, that bleeding as a medical treatment was practised, that the women were usually skilled as nurses, that Salerno was a rather well-known medical center etc. etc. We are introduced into a court room and to court procedure and we are given a fine expression of the dignity of the jury and the duty of the judiciary. We find hints about Mediæval navigation and travel. There are glimpses of cities, castles—both inside and outside, quiet country scenes, convents, town houses and country houses, chapels and prisons. There is information about costumes, textures, food and drink, domestic animals, family relationships. There is much which sets forth the general *mores:* the mechanics of courtly love, fami-

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liar intermingling with strangers, unhappiness in marriage, the tragedy of misalliance, the sacrifice of youth to wealth, the lack of sophistication of the society people, the superstitious frame of mind of the people in general. The extent to which Marie describes the society of her times is scarcely taken into consideration by those who look upon her as a writer of talent but of small importance or interest; while her work can not be regarded as an important source for historians, the striking way in which certain phases of the Mediæval civilization is summed up by Marie places it in a more prominent position than ordinary fiction and romance.

Marie's attitude towards love, learning, social life and towards the church is essentially that of the upper classes in general. Her conception of love was sensible and at the same time highly idealistic; it had something of the recklessness of courtly love but at the same time it seems to have a seriousness which the literary court lacked. It is illustrated in several lays. In *Gugemar,*[100] we find some rather succinct, common-sense statements on the subject: Love is like a wound on the inside; if it is concealed one can not expect to get relief from it. If a woman who is unsatisfactorily married can find love discreetly with a man of her own standing, it is permitted. Love is a fine thing and no matter for joking; it is not to be confused with lechery: those who make amorous conquests merely to talk about them know nothing of love... The lady in *Gugemar* accepted the lover in the first place as a gesture against her unreasonable position; that was permissible. When, later, she came to love him with a real and lasting, solid and dependable love, she demonstrates what Marie means by *love.*

[100] Line 471 ss.

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The discomfiture of the jealous husband and Meriadus falls in line with the popular XIIth century attitude towards love and at the same time appealed to the popular demand for *fabliau* situation. Faithfulness in love in the face of both hardship and temptation must have been applauded both by those who could imagine themselves in such a rôle as well as by those who would have been less rigorous in the same circumstances.

Love affairs between absolute strangers are somewhat startling to us. If, however, the complete love story is to be recounted from beginning to end, the pair must of course be strangers at the start. Marie relates the rise and growth of the beautiful passion with thrilling reality; the hesitancy, the feeling of uncertainity, the part the lovers' imaginations play in it and the physical side of the story are all given proper value. Marie's treatment of love was grandly romantic and at the same time thoroughly grounded in common-sense.[101]

The burden of Marie's instructional intent in the lays seems to have been the understanding of one's rights and duties as regards love. Being as she doubtless was a poet of the nobility, she could be expected to give out likewise a certain number of hints which might improve the manners of the reader. When she described a beautiful heroine or hero, she described a person who was good, true and beautiful; her portraits usually represent conventional, perfect ladies and gentlemen. A worthy knight is usually *enseigniés* and consequently he rises to speak to a lady, bows to a king, etc. etc. The ladies are becomingly reticent in perfectly normal situations.

[101] Faral, op. cit. in the chapter entitled "Ovide et Quelques Romans Français du XIIe Siècle" points out that there was a more or less established convention as to the effect of love on heroes and heroines.

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Marie carefully teaches a lesson to the wicked rulers who gave Eliduc and Lanval no recognition. Such people as the libidinous Guenivere, who desired the attention of the young knight, and the lecherous Equitan, who wanted to break up a good married couple, both people of importance who really should have known better, are taught lessons which should deter people similarly tempted from similar injustice.

It is clear in the lays as well as in the fables that Marie was intentionally rewarding the good and punishing the bad. Whenever irregulatities occur in the lays they are at least comprehensible if not excusable. The author seriously resented having a beautiful and young girl sacrificed to a jealous old man. Marie was not responsible for the teaching of the *Espurgatoire* but she indorsed its admonitions with all her skill and energy. Her strong sense of duty would lead us to believe that she strenghtened many of the conclusions which she found in the original of the fables.

Marie's contribution to our knowledge of the XIIth century is small, her art of writing more or less elementary and her stories were brought together from all sides; and yet she remains one of the very few writers of the Middle Ages whose work may be considered as a clear, entertaining and fairly complete evocation of XIIth century French people, their *mores*, their feeling towards their fellow man, their belief in Christian and pagan mysteries and their attitude towards various institutions. It is for this reason that Marie de France, keenly observant of and alive to the interest of her contemporaries, may be regarded as one of the most significant early literary expressions of Mediæval civilization in France.

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V

THE MSS

The MS. P, which is here published for the first time, was written by a scribe who had tendencies to Picardize and to correct his model.[102] These tendencies would be regarded as undesirable by an editor who hoped to reëstablish the original form of the text. The fact that the scribe left numerous traces of the Picard dialect on the texts is of little significance for in the XIIth century that form of the language was as "correct" as any other; but the fact that the copyist corrected his model is, on the contrary, of considerable importance, for emendations are sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. Let us consider the various MSS of the lays which appear in P.

The book in which the text P appears was apparently made by a cultivated antiquary-scribe who made occasional changes in his model, judicious changes. He did not copy blindly what he saw: When one is dealing

[102] The lays have been preserved in the following MSS: 1. H, London, British Museum, Harl. 978, f. 118a-160a. This MS. contains the *Prolog*, the *Lays*, excepting *Guingamor*, the *Fables* and the *Prolog* and *Epilog* of the *Fables*. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Fr. 1104. This MS. contains *Guimar, Lanval, D'Yonet, Chievrefueil,* fragments of *.ii. Amanz* and *Bisclavret* and *Milon, Fresne* and *Aquitan.* 3. P, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds. Fr. 2168. This MS. contains a fragment of *Iunec* and *Guimar* and *Lanval.* 4. Q, Paris, Bib. Nat., Fonds Fr. 24432. This MS. contains only *Yonet.* 5. C, London, Brit. Mus., Cott Vesp B.. XIV. This MS. contains only *Lanval.* HSPC were written in the second half of the XIIIth century, Q after 1334. HC were written in Anglo-Norman, SQ in French of the Ile-de France and P in a dialect which is more or less Picard.

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with a difficult MS. it is not safe to copy what one sees for he may see the wrong place, the wrong meaning or indeed no meaning at all. The beautiful and complete MS. H is presumably a copy of a MS. which is a more or less direct descendant of the original which Marie made or had made to present to the king. It will remain the most valuable MS. because it contains more of the lays than any other known MS. although it is in some respects very faulty. S is a MS. of "lais bretons" which is even more carelessly copied and which has both serious lacunæ and obvious interpolations. Both Warnke and Hoepffner incorporate all the interpolated passages of S in their editions of the lays though Hoepffner recognized later in his review of Warnke's 1925 edition[103] that certain of them were spurious and should have been omitted.

An examination of the texts HCS will show, and previous editors have not failed to notice it, that they practically never have ten consecutive lines which are even correct as to the number of syllables in the line.[104] S is more dependable on this score than HC but it is very prone to interpolations. P is almost entirely correct as to versification.

The MSS of the lays are too near together so far as

[103] Neophilologus, XII, p. 1-10 and 85-96.

[104] A work proposed by Mr. O. H. Prior in an article entitled *Remarques sur l'anglo-normand, Romania,* XLIX (1928) pp. 161-185, will possibly go far towards diminishing the prestige of Anglo-Norman MSS of French poetry. The author points out that not only were the Anglo-Norman scribes writing in a foreign tongue but they were dealing with a poetic system entirely foreign to their own. To them, octosyllabic lines were lines of four accents. If that is the case, it is not to be wondered at that the MS. H is so faulty. Mr. Prior says further: "Il est notable que les différents MSS anglonamands d'un même ouvrage en prose sont bien plus "corrects" que ceux en vers: cela n'a évidemment pas lieu de nous étonner."

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common errors are concerned and too independent so far as corrected readings are concerned to lend themselves to a feasible scheme for a *critical text* which would represent adequately the original work of Marie de France. P is with H against S in many cases and with S against H in many others. P lacks lines which are found now in H now in S. A careful examination of these passages shows that most of them are interpolations..

For *Gugemar,* H contains all the lines which appear in either S or P excepting the preliminary couplet of P which is certainly due to some scribe. H shows four inversions against SP: 53-4, 281-2, 417-8 and 827-30. SP omit in common 13-18 and and 145-6. In all S omits 36 lines of which 8 are omitted by P. P omits four other couplets. Of these, 13-18 are not absolutely necessary; moreover line 12 invites interpolations: "Whenever a man or woman has great worth, those envious people talk behind his back. They wish to cheapen his reputation and consequently begin their business." The second lacuna of P is 127-8: Gugemar, wounded was full of anxiety; he wondered to what land he could go. HS show a couplet to explain that he meant what land he could find to correspond to the place indicated by the prophetic deer. Since the whole meaning is implicitly there, the couplet is useless. The couplet 145-6, which is missing in SP, presents a difficulty. Did SP omit it because they did not understand it? Does this indicate a common source? Or does it mean that H inserted the couplet to clarify the passage? Without the couplet the passage is difficult but comprehensible: "Gugemar remounted and left the scene of the unfortunate encounter with the animal. Beyond

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the undergrowth in the midst of a clear, open space, he sees the cliff," etc. But H reads: "After leaving the scene, he went through the woods on a green path which led him out of the undergrowth. In the open space he saw," etc. It is a transitional couplet which prepares for the next scene. Now although transitional sentences are not out of order, inasmuch as H contains several of them not found in the other two MSS one could not unreasonably regard such passages as suspicious. Perhaps Marie herself added such couplets when she compiled the book for the king; SP may very well represent the earlier form of the lay. P alone omits the couplet 171-2, a relative clause which is a part of a description of a boat. It is difficult to say whether it is an error of omission on the part of P or an interpolation on the part of HS. However, since there was such a mania among XIIIth century copyists for marvelous descriptions, there is no reason to believe our scribe would show enough restraint to suppress a line of it.[105] It is possible to see in the lacunæ a tendency to abridge on the part of P and S but S has so many obvious expansions that it could hardly be expected to expand one description and suppress another. P alone omits the couplet 203-4. The statement that Gugemar lies down on the bed and falls asleep and that the worst is now over is incorrect: the worst is really just beginning. The next line somewhat bruskly presents the lady and her maiden by the bedside of the knight. The break is distinct, almost startling. Perhaps this couplet too is an attempt to make a transition between the two incidents. In HS the added couplet makes a quatrain rhyming in *-ort* (*port, mort, s'endort, fort*); however,

[105] Faral, op. cit., pp. 307 ss.

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as there are other such quatrains to be noted here and there in the lays no very great importance should be attached to the presence of this one.[106]

The lacuna in S of lines 241-4, in which the mural painting is described, is a non-restrictive clause; S apparently discarded it along with other passages which might possibly shock his patron. S omits lines 278-83; the rhyme of 278 and 284 being the same, no comment is necessary. The omission in S of 579-80 is presumably a mistake, for the passage is incomplete without the couplet. P omits the couplet 719-20. Since lines 719 and 721 begin with the word *il*, there is some reason to consider this an error; this is, however, a couplet of small importance. The couplet 759-60 was probably omitted by the scribe of S as being incomprehensible and unnecessary; H and P differ considerably in their reading of the couplet. The final couplet of the lay is omitted in S. The source of S may have been so rubbed at the end as to be partially illegible and, as the couplet was not required for the sense, it was probably suppressed. However, it is possible to see in this lacuna another evidence that the lays were first circulated without the conventional statement about the composition of the lay and that S represents an early form of he lay.

The same relation between the MSS is to be observed in their versions of *Lanval*. S omits verses 161-2, 181-2, 307-14, 515-6, and 567-8 which are found in HCP. S gives verses 213-4, 493-4, 545-6, 581-6, 597-600, 631-2 and two extra lines in the passage 539-41 none of which appear in H, C or P. S inverts 163-4 and gives 281-4 in order 283-4-1-2. C stands alone in omitting 361-2, in

[106] See note to text of *Lanval* 529-30.

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giving three lines of its own after 659 and in omitting the final couplet. H places 443-4 after 450. P stands alone in abbreviating 117-20 to two lines and in omitting 485-6 and 575-6.

Almost invariably in the passages in which S is at variance with the other three MSS, S is in the wrong: it omits 161-2 which are clearly indispensable, 181-2 which, we may infer from the fact that lines 180 and 183 have an identical last letter, were overlooked, 515-6, which are necessary to the understanding of the text and 567-8 which make up a restrictive clause. S adds: 213-4, flat lines which add nothing to a charming description; 493-4, the conventional salutation at the beginning of the message, a banal couplet added by S to temper down the bruskness of the beginning of the speech; 545-6, ingenious but unnecessary lines; 581-6, an addition to the description of the cortege; 597-600, a development, and partly a repetition, of what has just been said; and 493-4 and 631-2, conventional salutations at the beginning of a speech and two insignificant lines after 539 and 541 which even the most compositely minded of editors would leave aside.

P stands against HCS in condensing four lines, 117-20, to two. It also is alone in omitting lines 485-6, which should be omitted, and 575-6, a non-restrictive couplet descriptive of the woman's hair. C stands against HSP in omitting 361-2, which can not be omitted, and in adding two lines after 659 which are obviously tacked on.

For *Lanval,* H never stands alone with a lacuna or with additional lines.

In numbers of individual cases of vocabulary, P stands against HCS; many of these are interesting. A

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comparison between the reading of P and the variants of the other MSS will show how significantly P differs from the other MSS on this score.

Since the readings of P are so acceptable, it may be objected that they have probably been corrected. Such corrections as may be seen in the text of P are the discreet emendations of a connoisseur of the XIIIth century who was in a position to understand his text.

The version P is somewhat more unified than the versions in the other MSS as will appear in such passages as: *Gug.* 276. In P the *pucele* is the subject of the passage but in HS the passage is written in the plural with a certain effect of thickening. In *Gug.* 470, P has the statment that the *lady called the maid* against the reading of HS which states that the *maid called the lady*. In *Gug.* 253 the situation is described in P from the point of view of the heroine while in HS there is a change of subject. In *Gug.* 226 ss. the same thing happens. etc. etc.

The passage of SP:

En Flandres ala son pris querre (Gug. 52-55)
U ot tous iors estrif et gerre
En Laeraine n'en Gascogne
En Alemagne n'en Borgogne

which in H reads:

En Flaundres vait pur sun pris quere
La out tuziurz estrif e guerre
En Lorreine ne en Burguine
Ne en Angoue ne en Gascuine. . . . .

seems to point to an original version which had been circulated before the collection was made to be dedicated to the Angevin king of England. The Norse version naturally enough supports the reading of H.

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From line 480 to the end of *Lanval* there are two slightly different versions: that of P and that of HCS. The former develops the climax more effectively by working up to it with increasing speed and intensity. On the appearance of the first ladies, according to P, the hero makes no comment. When the second pair of damsels ride down the street, Lanval simply says, in reply to the entreaties of his friends, that he has never seen them. The third time the messengers go to him to ask if he knows the lady he finally speaks out. In HCS, the hero makes a little speech each time. Again in line 574, P states that the heroine rides rapidly through the town. C supports P! H and S state, each in its own way, that she rode slowly. The context really demands speed, for the climax comes swiftly: the lady arrives, makes her speech and departs almost like a vision.

At the end of *Yonec* the MSS HSQ contain four lines not included in P. These lines state that long after the thing happened those who heard of it made a lay about the sufferings of the characters. When Marie brought the lays togther to dedicate them to the king she made them all conform to the formula which she had invented for the lay. It is possible that P omitted the quatrain but there is more likelihood that it represents an older version of the lay *Yonec*.

All these indications would lead us to believe that the lays were circulated in different forms. As soon as Marie completed a lay she "published" it, but she nevertheless made changes in copies which were made subsequently. Scribes too made a great many unwarranted changes, of course. If P and S represent an earlier form of the lays than H and C, within the group

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PS, S has been seriously altered while P seems to have been handed down to us rather faithfully.

The book in which the version P is found contains also the unique MS. of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, that often published and thoroughly studied little romance; if our poems were to be found in no other MS., they might even be believed to have been written in Picard territory. There is, however, no probability that the lays were originally written in the Picard dialect, although many of the peculiarities of this dialect occur in *Gugemar, Lanval* and the *Iunec* fragment as they appear in the MS. P:

1. *c* for *ch* before *a* from Lat. *a: cachier,* G. 76; *cair,* G. 100; *cambre,* G. 231; *castel,* G. 228; *caut,* L. 103; *caitif,* G. 402; *car,* G. 571; *capele,* G. 232; *cascuns,* G. 216; *candelabres,* G. 183.

2. *c* for *ch* before *e, ie, i* from Lat. *a* (the *c* sometimes being written *k*): *cevaliers,* G. 33; *ricement,* G. 47; *ciet,* G. 101; *cemise,* G. 139; *kenu,* G. 180; *rocier,* G. 679; *cierir,* G. 517; *cien,* G. 82; *cief,* G. 185; *cies,* G. 208.

3. *g* for *j* before *a: esligascet,* L. 86, 91; *damagoient,* L. 10; *herberga,* L. 756; *g'ai,* L. 633.

4. *d* or *b* between *l-r, n-r, m-l* dropped: *samlant,* L. 24; *ensanle,* G. 618; *tenra,* L. 151; *vaurés,* L. 163; *resanloit,* G. 716; *vauroie,* G. 136.

5. *l* or *ll mouillé* after *i* remained and vocalized *fius,* L. 27.

6. *c* before Lat. *e* or *i* remained *c* instead of changing to ch: *braces,* G. 93; *sace,* G. 524; *verce,* G. 92.

7. *t* or *d* plus *s* final becomes *s* instead of *z: dolans,* G. 586; *laiens,* G. 604; *dedens,* G. 703; *grans,* G. 826; *ioians,* G. 866; *lis (liez)* G. 421; *liés,* G. 707.

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8. Metathesis: *enfreté,* G. 481; *herbregier,* L. 540; *esprevier,* L. 579.

9. *a* instead of *au: ara,* G. 523; *sarés,* L. 164; *Gavains,* L. 402.

10. *-en* instead of *-on: nen,* G. 721, 723; *sen,* G. 738.

11. *au* instead of *ou: vauroie,* G. 136; *vauroit,* G. 449.

12. *le* for *la* or *se* for *sa: le letre,* G. 23; *le cort,* G. 49; *le flor,* G. 69; *le* (fem. pron.) G. 95, 160; *le saiete,* G. 97; *se mesaise,* L. 51; *le voille,* G. 159.

13. *iau* instead of *eau* or *el: biauté,* L. 534, 591; *biaus-damoisiaus,* L. 661-2.

14. *e* or *eu* instead of *ou: eut,* G. 156, 195; *peut,* G. 226; *pres,* G. 33; *pre,* G. 474.

15. *a* instead of *ai: asalent, falent,* G. 873-4.

16. *i* instead of *ie* before *r: requir,* G. 505, 841.

17. *ie* instead of *iee: lacies,* L. 58; *corecie-avilie,* L. 307-8; *baillie-desploie,* G. 799-800; *enforcie-maisnie,* L. 395-6.

18. *iu* instead of *ieu: minus,* G. 699, L. 302, G. 356; *vius,* G. 210, 342; *diu,* G. 200, 524; *liu,* L. 164.

19. *vo* or *vos* for *vostre:* L. 168; *nos prestre,* G. 289; *vo,* G. 505.

20. *cis* for *cest:* G. 510.

Only a few of the Picard traits can be depended on to run through the MS. with any degree of consistency. Alongside the Picard forms enumerated the analogous Ile de France forms are frequently met.

The following peculiarities in spelling occur: *cemisse,* G. 650, 797; *guisse,* G. 729; *misse,* rhyming with *prise, Yonec,* 554; *puise,* L. 257; *as* for *aus,* Y. 507; *ess* for *eus,* G. 136; *boin* for *bon,* G. 307, 464, 519, 816; *bioen,* L. 203; *esroit* for *erroit,* G. 251; *esfroi,* G. 476, 802;

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soeusfre, G. 687; *escist,* G. 253; *esciliés,* G. 310; *laisciés,* L. 271; *siel,* G. 59; *consaus,* G. 510; *vermaus,* L. 477; *aus* for *eus,* G. 541, Y. 483; *us* for *eus,* Y. 495; *fu* for *fust,* G. 586, 679, 683; *capitle,* Y. 498, and *capitre,* Y. 503; *have,* G. 150 and *havene,* G. 151 and 328; *nois* for *neif,* L. 570; *voelle,* pres. subj., 3rd. sg., L. 351. The abbreviation *Gug.* is used except in G. 859 where we find *Guig.*

The MS. is fairly careful to use hiatus only with monosyllables: L. 320, 328, 377, 381 etc.

The scribe of P was very conscientious about rhymes although he was not always accurate. He is so careful that he often doubles an *i* to insure a palatal pronunciation: *envoiié* rhyming with *vessié,* G. 579-80; *rocier-noiier,* G. 679-80; *ploiés-desliiés,* G. 731-2; one exception, *envoiié-prové* which stands in P in L. 463-4 against HCS *envoié-nuncié,* however, does not seem unquestionably an error which is to be corrected (See note to *Lanval* 464). In L. 383-4 P reads *irés-coniurés,* against HCS which give *iriéz-enveiéz;* if we accept the Picard form *irés* the rhyme is good. Certainly the word *coniurés* is a stronger and more appropriate word than *enveiez.* P was uncertain of the usage of the word as the scribe shows in L. 278 where he writes *irié fu* (f.) uniformly with other participles in *-ie.* However, it is clear that the Picard traits are not mere chance, even though they are not entirely consistent.

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VI

THE TEXTS

C'EST LI LAIS DE GUGEMAR

MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, F. Fr. 2168.

Volentiers devroit on oïr
Cose quist boine a retenir
Ki de boine matere est faite.
Mout me poise se n'est bien fraite!
Oies, segnor, que dit Marit
Que en son tens nus ne s'oublit!
Celui doivent les gens loer
Qui en bien fait de lui parler;
Mais quant il a en un païs
Home ne fenme de grant pris,
Cil qui de son bien ont envie
Souvent en diënt vilonnie.
Sen pris li voelent abaisier;
Por cou conmencent li mestier. [13-18]

Li contes que sai est verais
Dont li Breton ont fait lor lais,
Si conterai asses briement
El cief de cest coumencement.
Selonc le letre et l'escriture
Vous conterai une aventure
Qui en Bretaigne la Menor
Avint au tans ancienor.
En cel tans tint Artus la terre;
Souvent i ot et pais et gerre.

Li rois avoit .i. sien baron
Qui sires estoit de Lion.
Éridiaus estoit apelés;
De son segnor ert molt amés;
Cevaliers ert pres et vaillans.

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De sa moullier ot .ii. enfans,
Un fil et une fille bele;
Nogivelot non la damoisele,
Gugemar nonment le dansel.
En nul raiaume n'ot plus bel!
A mervelle l'amoit sa mere
Et molt estoit bien de son pere.
Quant il le peut partir de soi
Si l'envoia servir le roi.
Li vaslés fu sages et prous
Se se faisoit amer a tous.
Quant fu venus termes et tans
K'il ot asses aäge et sens,
Li rois l'adouba ricement;
Armes li done a son talent.

Gugemars se part de le cort;
Molt i dona ains qu'il se'en tort.
En Flandres ala son pris querre
U ot tous iors estrif et gerre,
En Laëraine n'en Gascogne,
En Alemagne n'en Borgogne.
A cel tans ne pot on trouver
Meillor cevalier ne son per.
De tant i ot mespris nature
Ke de nul amor n'avoit cure:
Sou siel n'a dame ne pucele
Ki tant fust avenans et bele
Se il d'amour la requesist
Que volentiers nel retenist!
Plusors l'en requissent souvent
Mais il n'en avoit nul talent.
Nus ne poöit apercevoir
Que il vousist amor avoir.
Pour çou le tiennent a peri
L'estrange gent et si ami.

En le flor de son mellor pris
S'en vait li ber en son païs
Veoir son pere son segnor,

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Sa bonne mere et sa seror
Ki molt l'avoient desiré.
Aveuques eus a seinorné,
Ce m'est avis, .i. mois entier.
Talens li prist d'aler cachier:
La nuit semont ses cevaliers,
Ses veneors et ses berniers;
Au matin vont en la forest
Car cil deduis asses lor plest.
A un grant cerf sont arouté
E li cien furent descouplé.
Li veneor corent devant,
Li damoisiaus s'en va tariant.
Son arc li portoit .i. vallés,
Son hansart et son berserés.
Traire vossist se mes eüst
Ains que d'ileuc se remeüst.
En l'espesce d'un grant buisson
Voit une bisse o son faö.
Toute estoit blance cele beste.
Verce de cerf ot sor la teste.
Por l'aboi des braces sailli;
Il tent son arc, si traist a li.
Ens el pié le feri devant;
Ele caï demaintenent.
Le saïete resort ariere,
Gug. fiert en tel maniere
En la cuisse que del ceval
Le fist caïr molt tost aval.
A tere ciet sor l'erbe drue
Delés la beste qu'ut ferue.
La bisse qui ferue estoit
Angousseusement se plaignoit.
Apres parla en itel guise:
"Ai mi lasse! Ie sui ocise,
Et tu, vassaus qui m'as navrée,
Tes soit la toie destinée:
Ia mais n'aies tu medecine,
Ne par herbe ne par racine;
Ne par mire ne par puisson,

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N'aies tu ia mais garisson
De la plaie qu'as en la quisse
Desi que cele t'en garisse
Ki souffera por toie amor
Si grant painne et si grant dolor
Qu'onques femme tant nen soufri;
Et tu referas tant por li
Ke tout cil s'en merveilleront
Qui aimment ni amé aront
Ne qui puis ameront apres.
Va t'ent et si me laisse en pes!"
Gug. fu forment bleciés;
De çou qu'il ot s'est esmaiés.
Conmença soi a porpenser
En quel tere porra aler.
Il set asses et bien le dit [127-8]
Ke ainc femme nule ne vit
A cui il atornast s'amor
Quil garesist de sa dolor.
Son vallet apela avant.
"Amis, dist il, va t'ent pognant!
Fai mes conpaignons retorner,
Car ie vauroie a ess parler."
Cil point avant, et cil remaint.
Mout angousseusement se plaint.
De se cemise estroitement
Bende sa plaie fermement.
Puis est montés. D'aleuc se part
K'eslongiés soit molt li est tart.
Ne veut que nus des siens i viegne
Kil destornast et kil detiegne.
[145-6]
Fors de la lande emmi la plagne
Voit la faloise et la montaigne
D'une eve qui desus couroit.
Bras fu de mer; have i avoit.
El havene ot une seule nef
Dont Gug. connut le tref.
Mout bien estoit apareillié,
Dehors et dedens ert poié.

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Nus hom n'i peut trover jointure.
N'i eut keville ne closture
Ke ne fust toute d'ebenus.
N'est sou ciel ors qui vaille plus!
Le voille estoit toute de soie;
Mout est bele qui le desploie.
Li cevaliers est mout pensis
Car en la tere n'u païs
N'eut onques mais oï parler
Que nes i peüst arriver.
Il vait avant si descent ius;
A grant angoisse monte sus.
Dedens cuida homes trouver
Qui la nef deüscent garder;
Nen i eut nul, ne nul nen vit.
Enmi la nef avoit .i. lit
Taillié a or et a trifoire [171-2]
De cipres et de blanc ivoire.
D'un drap d'Aufrique d'or tissu
Ert la coute qui dedens fu.
Les autres dras ne sai prisier;
Mais tant vous di de l'oreillier:
Ki sus eüst son cief tenu
Il ne l'eüst ia mais kenu.
La couverture sebelin
Taillié d'un drap alixandrin.
Deus candelabres de fin or
(Les pieres valent .i. tresor)
El cief de la nef furent mis.
Desus eut deus cierges de pris.
De ce s'estoit molt merveilliés.
Desor le lit s'est apoiés.
Repose soi; sa plaie deut.
Puis est levés; aler s'en veut.
Il ne peut mie retorner:
La nef estoit en haute mer.
A tout lui va delivrement;
Bone oré a et souef vent.
N'i eut nient de son repaire;
Mout est dolans, ne sait que faire.

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N'est mervelle se il s'esmaie,
Que grant dolor a de sa plaie.
Souffrir li estuet s'aventure
Et prie Diu que il ait cure
K'a son plaisir le mete a port
Se le deffende de la mort.

[203-4]

Ains le vespré arivera
La u sa garison aura
Sous une ancienne cité
Qui cies estoit de cel regné.
Li sires qui le maintenoit
Mout ert vius hom et femme avoit,
Une dame de haut parage,
France et cortoise, bele et sage.
Jalous estoit a demesure,
Car ce porporte la nature
Que tout li viel soient ialous;
Mout het cascuns que il soit cous!
Tes est d'aäge li trespas
Il ne le gardoit mie a gas.
En un vergié sous le donjon
Un clos avoit tout environ.
De vert mabre fu le muriaus,
Mout par estoit espés et haus.
N'i eut fors une seule entrée;
Cele ert et nuit et ior gardée.
De l'autre part fu clos de mer:
Nus n'i peut issir n'i entrer,
Se ce ne fust a un batel,
Qui besoig eüst u castel.
Li sire ot fait dedens ce mur,
Por sa femme metre a seür,
Cambre, sous ciel n'avoit si bele:
A l'entrée fu la capele.
La cambre ert painte tot entor:
Venus la dieuesse d'amor
Fu molt bien mise en la painture.
Les letres mostrent la nature

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Conment on doit amor tenir
Et laiaument et bien servir.
Le livre Ovide u il ensegne
Conment cascuns s'amor restragne
En .i. fu ardant le ietoit,
Et tous iciaus escoumenioit
Qui ia mais son livre liroient
Ne son commandement feroient.
La fu la dame enclose et mise.
Une pucele a son servise
Li avoit ses sires bailliée
Qui molt ert france et ensegniée;
Sa niece ert, fille sa seror.
Entre les deus ot grant amor.
O li estoit quant il esroit
Desi la que il repairoit.
Home ne fenme ne veïst
Ne ia de ce murail n'escist.
Uns vius prestres blans et floris
Gardoit la clef de cel postis.
Le plus bas membre avoit perdu;
Autrement n'i fu pas creü.
Le service Diu li disoit
Et a son mengier le servoit.

Cel ior meïsme ains relevée
Fu la dame el vergié alée.
Dormi avoit apres mengier
Si s'ert alée esbanoier.
Ensanble o li eut la meschine.
Garda aval les la marine.
La nef virent qui vint siglant
Si com li flos venoit montant.
Ne voient rien qui la conduie;
La dame vout torner en fuie.
S'el a paör, n'est pas merveille!
La face l'en devint vermeille;
Mais la mescine fu plus sage
Et plus hardie de corage
Si le conforte et aseüre.

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Cele part va grant aleüre.
Son mantel oste la pucele,
Entre en la nef qui molt ert bele;
N'i trova nule rien vivant
Fors seul le cevalier dormant.
Arestut soi si l'esgarda;
Pale le voit, mort le cuida.
Ariere va la damoisele.
Hastivement sa dame apele,
Toute l'aventure li dit.
Mout plaint le mort que ele vit.
La dame dist: "Or i alons
Et s'il est mors nous l'enfourons
Et nos prestres nos aidera;
Se il est vis si parlera."
Ensanble i vont, ne targent mes,
La dame avant et cele apres.
Quant ele est en la nef entrée,
Devant le lit est arestée.
Le cevalier a regardé;
Mout plaint son cors et sa biauté.
Por lui estoit tristre et dolente
Et puis dist: "Mar fu la iouvente!"
Desor le pis li mist la main;
Caut le senti et le cuer sain
Ki sous le coste li batoit.
Li cevaliers qui se dormoit
S'est esveilliés si l'a veüe;
Mout tres doucement le salue.
Bien set qu'il est venus a rive.
La dame plourans et pansive
Li respondi molt boinement:
Demanda li confaitement
Il est venus, et de quel terre,
Et s'il ert escilliés par guere.
"Dame, fait il, ce n'i a mie;
Mais s'il vous plaist que je vous die,
M'aventure vous conterai.
De rien ne vous en mentirai.
De Bretaigne la Menor sui.

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En bois alai cacier des hui;
Une beste blance i feri,
Et li saïete resorti.
En la quisse m'a si navré
Ia mais ne quit avoir santé.
La bisse se plainst et parla:
Mout me maudi et si iura
Que ia n'eüsse garisson
Se par une mescine non.
Ne sai u ele soit trouvée.
Quant iou oï la destinée
Hastivement du bos issi.
En .i. havene ceste nef vi,
Ens mer entrai si fis folie;
O moi s'en est la nef ravie.
Ne sai u ie sui arivés.
Coument a non ceste cités?
Bele dame, por Diu vous pri,
Consellis moi, vostre merci,
Car ie ne sai quel part aler
Ne la nef ne sai governer."
Ele respont: "Biau sire ciers,
Consel vous donrai volentiers:
Ceste cités est mon segnor
Et la contrée tot entor;
Rices hom est, de haut parage,
Mais vius est et de grant eäge;
Angouseusement est ialous;
Par cele foi que jou doi vous,
Dedens ce mur m'a enfermée.
N'i a que une seule entrée;
Uns vius prestre le porte garde,
Maus fus et male flambe l'arde!
Ci sui et nuit et ior enclose;
Ia ne serai nul ior si ose
Que i'en isse s'il nel conmande
U me sire ne me demande.
I'ai ci cambre et ma capele
Ensanble o moi ceste pucele.
Se vous i plaist a demourer

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Tant que vous mius puissies erer,
Volentiers vous sejornerons
E de bon cuer vous servirons."
Quant il a la parole oïe,
La dame forment en mercie.
O li sejornera, ce dit.
En estant s'est dreciés el lit
Celes li aiüent a paine.
La dame le prent si l'en mainne
Desor le lit a la mescine.
Tres un dossal qui por cortine
Fu en la cambre apareilliés,
La est li cevaliers couciés.
En bacins d'or l'eve aporterent;
Sa plaie et sa quisse laverent.
A. i. bel drap de cainsil blanc
Li osterent d'entor le sanc
Puis l'ont estroitement bendé.
Molt le tienent en grant cierté.
Quant li mangiers au vespré vint,
La pucele tout en retint
Dont li cevaliers eut asses.
Bien fu peüs et abevrés.

Amors le point d'une estincele,
Dedens le cuer, les la mamele;
Por la dame l'a si navré
Tout a son païs oublié.
De sa plaie nul mal ne sent;
Mout se plaint augusceusement!
La mescine quil dut servir
Pria quel laist aler dormir;
Cele s'en va si l'a laiscié.
Des qu'il li a doné congié.
Devant sa dame en est alée
Qui auques est ia escaufée
Del fu dont Gug. se sent
Qui son cuer alume et esprent.
Li cevaliers est remés sous;
Pensis estoit et angouscous.

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Ne set encore ce que doit;
Et neporquant bien s'aparçoit
Se par la dame n'est garis,
De la mort est seürs et fis.
"Ha, las! fit il. Quel le ferai!
Iraï a li si li dirai
Qu'ele eüst merci et pitié
De cest caitif desconseillié.
S'ele refuse ma proiiere
Et tant fust orgeilleuse et fiere,
Dont m'estuet il ensi morir
U de cest mal tous iors languir."
Lors soupira; (en poi de tans
Li est venus autres porpens)
Et dist que soffrir li estuet
Car ensi fait qui mius ne poeut.
Toute la nuit a si veillié
Et souspiré et traveillié.
En son cuer aloit recordant
Les paroles et le sanblant,
Les eus vairs et la bele bouce
Dont la douçors au cuer li touce.
Por poi qu'il ne l'apele amie
Entre ses dens merci li crie.
Se il seüst qu'ele sentoit
Et com Amors le destragnoit,
Mout en fust lis, mien ensiënt;
Un poi de rasouagement
Li tolist auques la dolour
Dont il ot pale la coulour.
Se il a mal por li amer,
Ele ne s'en puet nient loer!

Par matinet ains la iornée
Estoit la dame sus levée.
Veillié avoit, de ce se plaint.
Ce fait Amors qui le destraint!
La pucele qui o lui fu
A le sanblant aparceü
De sa dame qui ia amoit

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Le cevalier qui seiornoit
En la cambre por garison.
Mais el ne set se l'aime u non!
La dame est entrée el mostier
Et cele vait au cevalier.
Assise s'est devant le lit
Et il l'apele si li dist:
"Amie, u est ma dame alée?
Por qu'est ele si tost levée?"
A tant se tient si sospira.
La mescine l'aresona:
"Sire, dist ele, vos amés;
Gardés que trop ne vos celés!
Amer poés en itel guisse;
Bien arés vostre amor asise.
Qui ma dame vauroit amer
Mout devroit bien por li pener.
Ceste amors seroit couvenable
Se vos estiés andoi estable.
Vous estes biaus et ele est bele!"
Il respondi a la pucele:
"Ie sui de tele amor supris
Tost me porra torner a pis
S'or n'en ai conseil et aïe.
Conseilliés moi ma douce amie.
Ke ferai iou de ceste amor?"
La pucele par grant douçour
A le cevalier conforté
Et de s'aiüe aseüré
De tous les biens qu'ele puet faire.
Mout est cortoise et de boin aire.

Quant la dame ot la messe oïe,
Ariere va, pas ne s'oublie;
Savoir voloit que cil faisoit;
Se il veilloit u il dormoit
Por cui amor ses cuers ne fine.
Avant apele le mescine.
Au cevalier la fait venir:
Bien le porra tout a loissir

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Mostrer et dire son corage
Tort li a pre u a damage.
Il le salue et ele lui
En grant esfroi erent andui.
Il ne l'osoit niënt requere
Por çou qu'il est d'estrange terre.
Avoit peür sel li mostrast
Que nel haïst et eslongast.
Mais qui ne mostre s'enfreté
A paines puet avoir santé.

Amor est plaie dedens cors
Et si ne pert noient defors.
C'est uns maus qui longement tient
Por çou que de nature vient.
Plusor le tienent a gabois
Si come cil vilain cortois.
N'est pas amors ains est folie
Et mauvaistés et lecerie
Kil goulousent par tout le mont
Puis s'en vantent de çou qu'il font.
Ki en puet un loial trover,
Mout le doit cierir et amer
Et estre a son conmandment!
Gug. aime durement:
U il aura procain secors
U li estuet vivr a rebors.
Amors li done hardement!
Il li descovre son talent:
"Dame, dist il, ie muir por vous;
Mes cors en est molt angouscos.
Se vos ne me volés garir,
Dont m'estuet il enfin morir.
Ie vous requir vo druerie.
Bele ne m'escondisciés mie."
Quant ele l'a bien entendu
Avenanment a respondu.
En riant li a dit: "Amis,
Cis consaus seroit trop hastis:
D'ottroier vous ceste proiere;

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Ie n'en sui mie costumiere."
"Dame, feit il, por Diu merci,
Ne vos anuit se jel vous di,
Fenme vilainne de mestier
Se doit faire lonc tans proiier
Por soi cierir que cil ne cuit
Que'ele ait usé icel deduit.
Mais la dame de boin porpens
Qui en soi ait valor et sens,
S'ele voit home a sa maniere
Ne se fera vers lui trop fiere;
Ains l'amera sin ara joie!
Ains c'on le sace ne nus l'oie
Aront il mout de lor bons fait.
Douce dame, finés cest plait!"
Ele set bien que voir a dit
Se li otroie sans respit
L'amor de li et il le baise.
Des or est Gug. a aise!
Ensanble juent et parolent
Et souvant baisent et acolent.
Bien lor coviegne del sorplus
De ce que li autre ont en us.
Ce m'est avis an et demi
Fu Gug. ensanble o li.
Mout lor delite cele vie,
Mais Fortune qui ne s'oublie
Sa roeue torne en petit d'ore.
L'un met desous, l'autre desore.
Ensi est il d'aus aveneu
Car tost furent aparçau.

Au tans d'esté par un matin
Iut la dame les le mescin.
La bouce li baise et le vis
Puis li a dit: "Biaus dous amis,
Li cuers me dist que je vous pert.
Veü serons a descouvert!
Se vous morés je voeil morir,
Et se vis en poés partir,

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Asses averés autre amor
Et je remandrai en dolor."
"Ia joie ne repos ne pais
Ne me doinst Dius, se je vous lais,
Quant vers nule autre arai amor.
N'aïies de çou nule paöur!"
"Amis, de çou m'aseürés:
Vostre cemise me donrés,
U pan desus ferai un ploit;
Congé vous doins u que ce soit
D'amer celi quil desfera
U qui desploiier le porra."
Il li baille si l'aseüre.
Le ploi i fait en tel mesure
Nule femme nel desferoit
Se force u coutel n'i metoit.
Le cemise li done et rent.
Il le receooit par tel couvent:
K'ele face seür de li
Par une çainture autresi
Dont a sa car nue la çaint
Parmi les flans auques l'estraint.
Qui le boucle porra ouvrir
Sans depecier et sans crasir,
Il li prie que celi aint.
Puis l'a baisié; a tant remaint.

Cel ior furent aparceü,
Descouvert, trouvé et veü
D'un canbrelenc mal vessié
Que se sire i ot envoiié.
A la dame voloit parler,
Ne pot ens en la cambre entrer.
Par une fenestre les vit;
A son segnor va se li dit.
Quant li sire l'a entendu
Onques mais si dolans ne fu.
De ses privés demande trois,
A la canbre vait demanois.
L'uis conmanda a despecier;

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Dedens trouva le cevalier.
Par le grant duel que il en a,
A ocire le conmanda.
Gug. est en piés levés.
Ne fu mie trop effréés!
Une grosse perce de sap
U soloient pendre li drap
Prist en sa main si les atent.
Il en fera aucun dolent!
Ains que d'eus soit trop aproismiés
Les ara il tous damagiés.
Li sire l'a molt esgardé.
Enquis li a et demandé
K'il estoit et dont il fu nés
Et comment ert laïens entrés
Cil li conte com il i vint
Et com la dame le retint.
Toute li dist la destinée.
De la bisse qui fu navrée
Et de la nef et de sa plaie.
Or est del tout en sa manaie.
Il li respont que pas ne croit
Que ensi soit com il disoit;
Mes se il peut le nes trover
Il le metoit en haute mer.
S'il garesist, ce li pesast,
Et bel li fust se il noiast.
Quant il eut bien aseüré,
Ensanle en sont au haule alé.
La nef troverent, ens l'ont mis.
O lui s'en va en son païs!

La nef s'en va, pas ne demeure.
Li cevaliers supire et pleure,
La dame regrete souvent
Et prie Diu Omnipotent
Que il li doinst hastive mort;
Et que ia mais ne vigne a port,
Se il ne puet ravoir s'amie
U s'esperance est et sa vie.

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Tant a cele dolor tenue
Ke li nes est a port venue
U ele fu primes trouvée.
Asses ert pres de sa contrée.
Au plus tost qu'il peut s'en issi.
Uns damoisias qu'il ot nouri
Erroit apres un cevalier.
En sa main menait .i. destrier.
Il le connut si l'apela,
Et li vallés le regarda.
Son segnour voit, a pié descent,
Le ceval li met en present.
O lui s'en va; grant joie en font
Tout si ami quant trouvé l'ont.
Mout ert proisiés en son païs,
Mais mout estoit mas et pensis.
Femme voloient qu'il pressist
Et il forment s'en escondist:
Ke ne prendra femme nul jor
Ne por avoir ne por amor
S'ele ne pöoit desploiier
Le cemisse sans depecier.
Par Bretaigne va la novelle;
Ne remaint dame ne pucele
Qui ne viegne por essaiier
Mais ne le poeiient desploiier.

De la dame vous veul conter
Que Gug. peut tant amer.
Par le conseil d'un sien baron
L'a se sires mise en prison
En une tor de marbre bis.
Le jor a mal et la nuit pis!
Nus hom ne vos porroit descrire
Le grant painne ne le martire
Ne l'angousce ne le dolor
Que la dame souffre en la tor.
Deus ans i fu et plus, je cuit,
Ainc n'i ot joie ne deduit.
Sovent regrete son ami:

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"Gug., sire, mar vous vi!
Mius veul hastivement morir
Que longement cest mal soffrir.
Se ie peüsse m'escaper
I'alasce u fustes mis en mer!"
Quant ce ot dit se lieve sus,
Tote esbahie vint a l'uis;
N'i trova clef ne serreure,
Hors en issi par aventure.
Onques nus ne le destorba.
Au haule vint; la nef trova!
Ataciée fu au rocier
U ele se voloit noiier.
Quant el le vit ens est entrée,
Mais d'une rien s'est porpensée:
K'iloec fu ses amis noiiés;
Donc ne puet estre sor ses piés.
Se dusqu'au bort peüst venir,
Ele se laisçast jus caïr.
Assés soeusfre travail et painne!
Li nef s'en va qui tost l'en mainne.
En Bretaigne est venue a port
Sous .i. castel vaillant et fort.
Li sire qui li castiaus fu
Avoit a non Meriadu
Si guerroiait .i. sien voisin;
Por çou ert levés si matin.
Se gent voloit fors envoiier
Por son anemi damagier.
A une fenestre s'estoit
Et vit le nef qui arrivoit.
Il descent parmi le degré,
Son canbrelenc a apelé.
Hastivement a le nef vont
Par l'esciele montent amont.
Dedens ont la dame trovée.
Ki de biauté resanbloit fée.
Ile saisist par le mantel,
O lui l'en mainne ens el castel.
Molt fu liés de la troveüre

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Car bele estoit a desmesure;
Ki que l'eüst misse au rivage
Bien set qu'el est de haut parage.
A li atorna tel amor
Ainc a sa femme n'ot greignor.
Il eut une sereur pucele
En sa canbre qui molt est bele;
La dame li a conmandée
Qui de biauté resanloit fée.
Ricement le vest et atorne
Mais tous iors est pensive et morne.
Ile requiert; el nen a cure.
Ains le mostre de la çainture:
Ia mais home nen amera
Se celui non qui l'overa
Sans depecier. Quant il l'entent,
Lors li respont par maltalent:
"Ensement a en cest païs
Un cevalier de molt grant pris;
De femme prendre en itel guisse
Se desfent par une cemisse
Dont li destres pans est ploiés
Que ne peut estre desliiés
Ki force u coutel n'i metroit.
Vous fesistes, ce cuit, le ploit."
Quant el l'oï si sospira,
Por un petit ne se pasma.
Il le retint entre ses bras,
De sen bliaut trença les las;
Le çainture voloit ouvrir,
Mes il nen pot a cief venir.
Puis n'ot el païs cevalier
Ki n'i venist por assaiier.

Ensi remest bien longement
Des qu'a .i. grant tornoiement
Que Meriadus afia
Contre celui qu'il gerroia.
Molt a semons de cevaliers,
Gug. fu tous li premiers.

[719-20]

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Il le manda par gueredon
Com a ami et conpagnon
K'a cel besoing ne li falist
Et en s'aïe a lui venist.
Alés i est mout ricement,
Cevaliers mena plus de cent.
Meriadus a grant honor
Le herbega dedens sa tor.
Encontre lui sa seror mande.
Par deus cevaliers li conmande
Que'ele s'atort si vigne avant
Et la dame qu'il aime tant.
Cele a fait son conmandement:
Vestues furent ricement,
Main a main vinrent en la sale.
La dame estoit pensive et pale.
Ele oï Gug. nomer;
Adont ne peut sor piés ester.
Se cele ne l'eüst tenue
Ele fust a terre ceüe.
Li cevaliers contre leva,
La dame vit et esgarda
Et sen sanblant et sa maniere;
Un petitet s'estras ariere.
"Est ce, fait il, ma douce amie,
M'esperance, mes cuers, ma vie,
Ma bele dame qui m'ama?
Dont vient ele? Qui l'amena?
Or ai pensé molt grant folie?
Bien sai que ce n'est ele mie;
Fenmes s'entresanblent asses.
Por nient se cange mes pensés;
Mais pour celi qu'ele resanble
Mes cuers fremist, sospire et tranble.
A li parlerai volentiers!"
Lor vait avant li cevaliers,
Il le baise; les lui l'asist.
Onques a l'autre mot ne dist
Fors tant que seöir le rouva.
Meriadus les regarda;

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Molt li pesa de cel sanblant.
Gug. apele en riant:
"Sire, fait il, s'il vous plaisoit,
Ceste pucele asaieroit
Vostre cemise a desploiier
S'ele i poroit riens esploitier."
Ili respont: "Et ie l'otroi."
Un cambrelenc apele a soi
Ki le cemisse ot a garder;
Ili conmande a aporter.
A la pucele l'a bailliée,
Mais ne l'a mie desploiée.
La dame connut bien le ploi;
Ses cuers estoit en grant esfroi
Car volentiers i asaiast
S'ele peüst et ele ossast.
Bien s'aperçoit Meriadus;
Dolans estoit, ainc ne fu plus.
"Dame, dist il, car asaiiés
Se desferre le porriés."
Quant ele ot le conmandement,
Le pan de le cemise prent,
Legierement le desploia.
Li cevaliers s'esmerveilla;
Bien le connut mais nequedent
Ne le pot croire fermement.
A li parla en tel mesure:
"Amie, douce creature,
Estes vos çou, dites le moi?
Es ce vostre cors que ci voi? . . . .
La çainture dont ie vous çains?"
A ses costes li mist ses mains;
Il l'a trovée la çainture.
"Bele, dist il, quele aventure,
Que ie vous ai ici trovée!
Ki vous a ici amenée?"
Ele li conte la dolour,
Les grans painnes et le tristor
De le prison u ele fu
Et conment li est avenu,

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Conment ele s'en escapa:
Noier se vout, la nef trova,
Ens en entra a cel port vint,
Et li cevaliers le retint;
Gardée l'a a grant honor,
Mais tous iors li prioit d'amor.
Or est sa ioie revenue.
"Amis, menés ent vostre drue."

Gug. est en piés levés.
"Segnor, fait il, or m'entendés:
I'ai ci m'amie conneüe
Ke je cuidoie avoir perdue.
Meriadu requir et pri
Rende le moi, soie merci,
Ses hom liges en devenrai
Deus ans ou .iii. le servirai
A cent cevaliers u a plus."
Donc li respont Mereadus.
"Gug., fait il, biaus amis,
Ie ne sui mie si aquis
Ne si destrois por nule guere
Que de ce me doiies requere.
Ie le trovai si le tendrai;
Encontre vos le deffendrai."
Quant il l'oï, hastivement
A fait monter toute sa gent;
D'iluec se part, celui deffie.
Molt est delans qu'i laist s'amie!
En la vile n'ot cevalier
Qui fust venus por tornoier
Ke Guig. nen maint o soi.
Cascuns li a fié sa foi
K'o lui iront quel part qu'il aut.
Mout est honnis qui or li faut!

La nuit sont au castel venu
Ki gerioit Mereadu.
Li sires les a herbergiés
Ki mout en fu ioians et liés

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De Gug. et de s'aïe.
Bien set que sa guerre a fenie!
El demain par matin leverent,
Par les hosteus se conreerent.
De la vile issent a grant bruit,
Gug. devant les conduist.
Al castel vindrent si l'asalent
Mais fors estoit, au prendre falent.
Gug. a la vile asise,
Nen tornera si l'ara prise.
Tant li crurent ami et gens
Ke tos les afame dedens.
Le castel a destruit et pris
Et le segnor dedens ocis.
A grant joie s'amie en mainne!
Or a trespassée la paine.

De cest conte qu'oï avés
Fu *Gug.* li lais trovés
Que on dit en harpe et en rote.
Boine en est a oïr la note.

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C'EST DE LANVAL.

Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Fr. 2168.

L'aventure d'un altre lai,
Com il avint, vous conterai.
Fait fu d'un molt rice vassal;
En breton l'apelent *Lanval.*

A Cardoeill sejorna li rois
Artus, li preus et li cortois,
Por les Escos et por les Pis
Qui destrusoient le païs;
En le tere de Logre estoient
Et mout souvent le damagoient.
A le Pentecoste en esté
I avoit li rois sejorné.
Asses dona de rices dons
Et as contes et as barons,
A ceus de le table reonde,
— N'ot tant de teus en tout le monde!
Honors et terres departi
Fors a un seu qui l'a servi:
Ce fu Lanvaus; ne l'en souvint,
— Ne nus des siens bien ne li tint.
Por sa valor, por sa largece,
Por sa biauté, por sa proece
L'envioient tot li pluisor.
— Tes li mostroit samlant d'amor;
S'au cavalier mesavenist,
Ia une fois ne l'en plainsist!
Fius a roi fu de haut parage
Mais loins fu de son hiretage;
De le maisniée le roi fu
Mais son avoir ot despendu,
Car li rois rien ne li dona

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Ne Lanvaus ne li demanda.
Mout est dolans, mout est pensis.
Segnor, ne vos en merveilliés;
Hom estranges desconseilliés
Mout est dolans en autre terre
Quant il ne set u secors querre.

Li cevalier, que je vous di,
Ki tant avoit le roi servi
Un jor monta sor son destrier
Si s'en ala esbanoiier.
Fors de le vile en est issus;
Tos seus est en .i. pré venus.
Sor une eve corant descent
Mais ses cevaus tramble forment!
Il le descengle si le lait;
En mi le pré vutrer le fait.
Le pan de son mantel ploia
Desous son cief; puis se couça.
Mout est pensis por se mesaise;
Il ne voit cose qui li plaise.
La u il gist en tel maniere
Garda aval les la riviere
Si vit venir deus damoiseles.
Onques n'eut veües si beles!
Vestues furent richement
Et laciées estrotement
De deus bliaus de porpre bis;
Mout par avoient biaus les vis.
L'ainsnée portoit uns bacins
D'or esmeré bien fais et fins;
(Le voir vous en di jou sans faille!)
L'autre portoit une touaille.
Eles en sont alées droit
La u li cevaliers gissoit.
Lanvaus, qui mout fu ensegniés,
Contre eles s'est levés en piés.
Celes l'ont primes salué,
Le mesage li ont conté:
"Sire Lanval, ma damoisele,

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Ki mout est et cortoise et bele,
Ele nous envoie por vous.
Car i venés ensanble o nous;
Sauvement vous i conduirons.
Véés, pres est ses paveillons."
Li cevaliers aveuc s'en vait.
De son ceval ne tient nul plait
Ki devant lui paisoit u pré.
Desi qu'al tré l'ont amené
Qui mout fu biaus et bien assis.
La roïne Semiramis,
Quant ele eut onques plus avoir
Et plus poisçance et plus savoir,
Ne l'enperere Octevian
N'esligascet le destre pan!
Un aigle d'or ot desus mis;
D'icil ne sai dire le pris
Ne des cordes ne des paisçons
Qui del tref tienent les girons.
Sous ciel n'a roi quis esligast
Por avoir que il en donast.

Dedens le tref fu la pucele:
Flors de lis et rose novele
Quant ele pert u tans d'esté
Trespassoit ele de biauté.
Ele jut sor .i. lit mout bel.
(Li drap valoient un castel.)
En sa cemise sanglement
Mout ot le cor et bel et gent.
Un cier mantel de blanc ermine
Covert de porpre alissandrine
Eut por le caut sor li geté.
Tout eut descouvert le costé,
Le vis, le col et le poitrine.
Plus ert blance que flors d'espine!
Li cevaliers avant alla
Et le pucele l'apela.
Il s'est devant le lit assis.
"Lanval, dist ele, biaux amis,

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Por vous ving jou fors de ma terre;
De lains vous sui venue querre.
Se vos estes prous ne cortois,
Enperere ne quens ne rois
N'eut onques tant joie ne bien,
Car je vous aim sor toute rien."

[117-8]

Amors le point isnelement
Qui son cuer alume et esprent.
"Bele, dist il, s'il vous plaisoit,
Et cele ioie m'avenoit
Que vous me vousisiés amer,
Ne sariiés rien conmander
Ke ie ne face a mon poöir.
Tort a folie u a savoir
Ge ferai vos conmandemens.
Por vous guepirai je mes gens!
Ja mais ne quier de vous partir;
Ce est la riens que plus desir."
Quant la pucele l'ot parler,
Celui qui le peut tant amer
S'amor et son cuer li otroie.
Or est Lanvaus en droite voie!
Un don li a doné apres:
Icele rien ne vaudra mes
Que il ne l'ait a son talent;
Doinst et despende largement,
Ele li trovera asses.
Mout est Lanvaus bien asenés:
Com plus despendra largement
Et plus ara or et argent.
"Amis, dist ele, or vous casti
Si vos conmande et si vos pri:
Ne vous descouvrés a nul home!
De ce vous dirai io la sonme:
A tous iors m'ariés perdue.
Se ceste amors estoit seüe,
Mes ne me porriiés veoir
Ne de mon cors sesine avoir!"

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Il li respont que bien tenra
Tot çou que li commandera.
Dalés li est u lit couciés.
Or est Lanvas bien herbegiés!
Ensanble o li, la relevée
Demoura dus qu'a la vesprée;
Et plus i fust se il poïst
Et s'amie li consentist.
"Amis, dist ele, levés sus!
Vos ne poés demorer plus.
Alés vous ent, ie remandrai.
Mais une cose vous dirai:
Quant vous vaurés a moi parler
Ia ne sarés cel liu penser
U nus hom puist trover s'amie
Sans reproce et sans vilonie
Ke ie ne vos soie en present
A faire vo conmandement.
Nus hom fors vous ne me verra
Ne me parole nen ora."
Quand il l'oï molt en fu liés.
Il le baise, puis est dreciés.
Celes qui el tref l'amenerent
De rices dras le conreérent.
Quant il fu vestus de novel,
Sou siel n'eut plus bel damoisel.
N'estoit mie fous ne vilains!
L'eve li donnent a ses mains
Et le touaille a essuier.
Apres li donent a mangier.
O s'amie prist le souper:
Ne fasoit mie a refuser;
Mout fu servis cortoisement
Et il a grant ioie le prent.
Un entremés i eut plenier
Ki mout plaisoit au cevalier,
Car s'amie baisoit sovent
Et acoloit estroitement.
Quant del mangier furent levé,
Son ceval li ont amené

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Bien li eurent la sele mise,
Mout a trové rice servise.
Il prist congié si est montés;
Vers le cité en est alés.
Sovent regarde ariere soi;
Moult est Lanvaus en grant esfroi.
De s'aventure vait pensant
Et en son corage doutant.
Esbahis est, ne set que faire,
Nen cuida ia a nul cief traire.

Il est a son hostel venus,
Ses homes trove bien vestus.
Icele nuit bioen ostel tint,
Mais il ne set dont ce li vint.
N'en le vile n'eut cevalier
Ki de sejour eüst mestier
Que il ne face a lui venir
Et ricement et bien servir.
Lanvaus dounoit les rices dons.
Lan. raiënbe les prisons,
Lanvaus vestoit les iougleors,
Lan. faisoit les grans honors.
N'i eut estrange ne privé
A cui Lanvaus n'eüst douné.
Lanvaus eut mout ioie et deduit
U soit par ior u soit par nuit:
S'amie puet voöir sovent,
Tout est a son comandement.

Ce m'est avis meïsme l'an
Apres le feste Saint Jehan,
Desi qu'a trente cevalier
S'erent alé hesbanoiier
En un vergié desous le tor
U la roïne ert a seïor.
Ensamble o eus estoit Gauvains
Et ses cousins li biaus Ivains.
Ce dist Gau. li biaus li prous
Ki se faisoit amer a tous:

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"Par Diu, segnor, ne faisons mal
De nostre conpaignon Lanval
Ki tant est larges et cortois
(Et ses pere est si rices rois)
Que nos ne l'avons amené?"
A tant se sont aceminé:
A son ostel revont ariere,
Lanval amainent par proiiere.

A une feneste entailliée
S'estoit la roïne apoiée.
Trois dames ot ensamble o li.
Li une d'eles a coisi:
Lanval connut et esgarda.
Une des dames apela.
Tantost manda ses damoiseles
Les plus cointes et les plus beles:
O li s'iront esbanoiier
La u cil erent u vergier.
.xxx. en mena o li et plus!
Par les degres descendent ius;
Li cevalier encontre vont
Qui por eles grant ioie font.
Il les ont prises par les mains;
Cil parlemens n'est pas vilains.
Lan. s'en va a une part
Loins des autres. Molt li est tart
Ke s'amie puise tenir,
Baisier, acoler et sentir.
L'autrui joie prise petit
Se il nen a le sien delit.
Quant le roïne seul le voit
Au cevalier en vait tot droit.
Les li l'asist si l'apela,
Tot sen corage li mostra:
"Lanval, mout vos ai honoré
Et mout cieri et mout amé.
Toute m'amor poés avoir;
Car m'en dites vostre voloir!
Ge druerie vos otroi;

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Mout devés estre liés de moi."
"Dame, dist il, laisciés m'ester;
Je n'ai cure de vostre amer.
Longement ai servi le roi;
Ne li voeil pas mentir ma foi.
Ja por vos ne por vostre amor
Ne mesferai vers mon segnor."
Le roïne se coureça;
Iriée fu si mesparla:
"Lanval, fait ele, bien le cuit,
Vos n'amés gaires ce deduit.
Asses le m'a on dit souvent
Que de femme n'avés talent.
Vallés avés bien afaitiés;
Ensanble o eus vos deduissiés.
Vilains couars, mauvais faillis,
Mout est me sire mal baillis
Ki entor lui vos a soffert,
Mien ensiënt, que Diu en pert."
Quant il l'oï mout fu dolens;
De respondre ne fu pas lens.
Tel cose dist par maltalent
Dont il se repenti sovent:
"Dame, dist il, de tel mestier
Je ne m'en sai niënt aidier;
Mais je aim (et se sui amis)
Celi qui doit avoir le pris
Sor toutes celes que ie sai!
Et une cose vous dirai,
Bien le saciés en descovert:
Une de celes qui le sert,
Tote le plus povre mescine
Vaut mius de vos, dame roïne,
De cors, de vis et de biauté,
D'ensegnement et de bonté."
La roïne s'en part a tant,
En sa canbre s'en va plorant.
Mout fu dolante et coreciée
De ce que si l'eut avilliée.
En sen lit malade couça;

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Ia mes, ce dist, nen levera
Se li rois ne li faisoit droit
De ce dont ele se plaindroit.

Li rois fu de bos repairiés;
Mout ot esté le jor haitiés.
As cambres le roïne entra.
Quant el le vit si se clama:
Às piés li ciet, merci li crie,
Et dist que Lanvaus l'a honie;
De druerie le requist;
Por ce que ele l'escondist
Le laida mout et avilla.
De tele amie se vanta
Ki mout ert cointe et noble et fiere
Et mius valoit sa canberiere
Le plus povre qui le servoit
Que la roïne ne faisoit.
Li rois s'en coreça forment;
Juré en a sen sairement:
S'il ne se puet en cort desfendre,
Il le fera ardoir u pendre.
Fors de le canbre issi li rois,
De ses barons demanda trois;
Il les envoie por Lanval
Ki asses a dolor et mal.
A sen ostel ert revenus.
Ia s'estoit bien aperceüs
K'il avoit perdue s'amie:
Descoverte ot sa druerie!
En une cambre fu tous sous;
Pensius estoit et angousous.
S'amie apele mout souvent,
Mes ce ne li valoit noïent!
Il se plaignoit et souspiroit;
D'eures a autres se pasmoit.
Puis le crie cent fois merci
K'ele parlast a son ami.
Son cuer et sa bouce maudist.
C'est merveille que ne s'ocist!

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Il ne sait tant crier ne braire,
Soi debatre ne soi detraire
K'ele en voelle merci avoir
Seul tant qu'il le poissce veoir.
A las! Coument se contenra
Cil cui li rois guerroiera?

Cil sont venu si li ont dit
K'a la cort viegne sans respit:
Li rois l'avoit par eus mandé;
La roïne l'ot encusé.
Lanvaus i va a son grant doeul.
Cil l'eüscent ocis, sien voeul!

Il est devant le roi venus,
Mout est pensis, taisans et mus.
De grant dolor mostroit sanblant.
Li rois li dist par mautalent:
"Vassal, vos m'avés mout mesfait;
Mout coumençastes vilain plait
De moi honnir et avillier
Et la roïne laidengier.
Vantés vous estes de folie;
Trop par est noble vostre amie
Quant plus est bele sa mescine
Et plus vaillans que la roïne."
Lanvaus desfent sa deshonor
Et la honte de son segnor.
De mot en mot si com il dist
Que la roïne le requist.
Mes de ce que il ot parlé
Reconeut il la verité.
De l'amor dont il se vanta
Dolans en est; perdue l'a.
De ce leur dist que il fera
Quanque li cours esgardera.
Li rois fu mout vers lui irés;
Tous ses homes a coniurés
Por dire droit qu'il en doit faire,
C'om ne le puisse a mal retraire.

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Cil ont son conmandement fait
U eus soit bel u eus soit lait.
Communement i sont alé
Si ont iugié et esgardé
Ke Lanvaus doit avoir un jor;
Mais pleges truist a son segnor
K'il atendra le judgement
Et revenra en son present.
Si sera le cors enforciée,
Car or n'i a fors la maisniée.
Au roi revienent li baron
Si li mostrerent la raison:
Li rois a pleges demandés.
Lanvaus fu seus et esgarés;
N'i avoit parent ni ami.
Gavains i va qui le plevi
Et tout si conpagnon apres.
Et dist li rois: "Ie le vous ples
Sor quanque vos tenés de moi,
Fiés et terres cascuns par soi."
Quant plevi l'ont donc n'i ot el,
Alés s'en est a son ostel.
Li cevalier l'ont convoié;
Mout l'ont blasmé et castoié
K'il ne face si grant dolor,
Et maudient sa fole amor.
Cascon ior l'aloient veöir
Por çou qu'il voloient savoir
Se il beüst ne il mangast;
Mout doutoient ne s'afolast.

Al ior que il eurent noumé
Li baron furent asanblé
Li rois et la roïne i fu
Et li plege ont Lanval rendu.
Mout estoient por lui dolent.
Je cuit qu'il en i ot tes cent
Ki fessissent tout lor poöir
Por lui sans plait delivre avoir:
Il est retés de mout grant tort!

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Li rois demande le recort
Selonc le claim et les respons.
Or est del tot en ses barons!
Il sont au iugement alé:
Mot sont pensiv et esgaré
Del franc home d'autre païs
Qui entr'eus est si entrepris.
Enconbrer le veulent plusor
Por le volenté lor segnor.
Ce dist li dux de Cornoualle:
"Ia endroit nos n'i ara faille,
Car qui k'en plort ne qui k'en cant,
Le droit estuet aler avant.
Li rois parla vers un vassal
Que ie vous oi noumer Lanval.
De felonnie le reta
Et d'un mesfait l'ecoisonna:
D'une amor dont il se vanta,
Et ma dame s'en correça.
Nus ne l'apele fors le roi.
Par cele foi que je vous doi,
Qui bien en veut dire le voir
Ja n'i deüst respons avoir
Se por çou non que son segnor
Doit on faire par tout honor!
Un sairement l'en wagera,
Et li rois le nous pardonra.
Et s'il poeut avoir son garant
Et s'amie venist avant
Et ce fu voirs que il en dist
Dont la roïne se marist,
De ce aura il bien merci
Quant por vilté nel dist de li;
Et s'il ne poeut garant avoir
Ce li devons faire savoir:
Tout son service pert del roi
Et si le congië de soi."

Al cevalier ont envoiié
Et si li ont dit et prové

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Que s'amie face venir
Por lui tenser et garantir.
Il leur a dit qu'il ne porroit
Ne ia par li secors n'aroit.
Cil s'en tornent as iugeors
Ki n'atendoient nul secors.
Li rois les hastoit durement
Por la roïne quis atent.
Quant il devoient departir,
Deus puceles virent venir
Sor .ii. blans palefrois amblans;
Mout par estoient avenans.
De vermaus cendaus sont vestues
Tout senglement a lor cars nues.
Cil les esgardent volentiers.
Gau., o lui trois cevaliers,
Vait a Lanval si li conta:
Les deus puceles li mostra;
Mout fu haitiés, forment li prie
K'il li desist se c'ert s'amie. [485-6]

Celes sont alées avant.
Tout a ceval par tel sanblant
Descendirent devant le crois
La u estoit asis li rois.
Eles furent de grant biauté
Si ont cortoisement parlé [493-4]
"Rois, faites canbres delivrer
Et de pailes encortiner
U ma dame puisse descendre,
Car aveuc vos veut ostel prendre."
Il lor otroie volentiers
Si apela deus cevaliers
Es canbres les mainent lassus,
A cele fois ne disent plus.
Li rois demande a ses barons
Le iugement et le respons
Et dist que mout l'ont corecié
De ce que tant ont delaiié.
"Sire, font il, nos departimes

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Por les dames que nos veïmes;
N'i avions nul esgart fait.
Or conmencerons nostre plait."
Lor rasanblerent tot pensif.
Asses i eut noisce et estrif!
Quant il erent en cel esfroi,
Deus puceles de grant conroi
(Vestues de deus bliaus frois
Cevaucent deus muls espanois)
Virent venir le rue aval.
Grant ioie en eurent li vassal!
Entr'eus dient c'or iert garis
Lanvaus, li prous et li hardis.
Gau. en est o lui alés,
Ses compaignons i a menés.
"Sire, dist il, rehaitiés vous;
Por amor Diu, parlés a nous!
La vienent ci deus damoiseles
Mout acesmées et mout beles;
C'est vostre amie vraiement!"
Lan. lor respont sinplement
Et dit que pas nes a veües
Ni amées ne conneües.

A tant furent celes venues,
Devant le roi sont descendues.
Mout les laöent li pluisor
Et de biauté et de coulor:
N'i ot celi mius ne vausist
Que la roïne ne fesist.
L'ainsnée fu cortoise et sage;
Avenament dist son mesage:
"Rois, car nous fai canbres baillier
A ues ma dame herbregier;
Ele vient ci a toi parler."
Il les conmanda a mener
O les autres qui ançois vindrent.
Onques de muls nul plait ne tindrent. [545-6]
Quant il fu d'eles delivrés
Puis a tous ses barons mandés

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Si lor a dit que soit rendus
Li iugemens ; trop est tenus ;
La roïne s'en coreçoit
De ce que trop i demeroit.

Ia departissent a itant
Quant par le vile vint pognant
Tost a ceval une pucele.
En tout le monde n'ot si bele !
Un blanc palefroi cevauçoit
Qui bien et souef le portoit.
Molt ot bien fait et col et teste.
Sos cies nen eut plus gente beste !
Rice ator ot el palefroi ;
Sous siel nen ot si rice roi
Qui tot le peüst acuitier
Sans tere vendure u engagier !
Ele ert vestue en ités guise
De cainse blanc et de cemise
Ke tout li coste li paroient
Qui de deus parts lacié estoient.
Le cors ot gent, base la hance,
Le col plus blanc que nois sor brance,
Les eus ot vairs et blans le vis,
Bele bouce, nés bien assis,
Les sorciels bruns et bel le front,
Et le cif cresp et auques blont.
Ses mantiaus fu de porpre bis :
Les pans en ot entor li mis.
Un esprevier sor son puing tint
Et uns livrers apres li vint.
Il n'ot el borc petit ne grant
Ne li vallet ne li sergant
Qui ne la voissent esgarder.
Si com il la voient errer,
De sa biauté n'est mie gas !
Ele venoit plus que le pas.
Tout li home qui l'esgardoient
A grant merveille le tenoient.
N'i ot un seul qui l'esgardast

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De droit amor ne s'escaufast. [597-600]

Cil qui le cevalier amoient
A lui vindrent si li contoient
De le pucele qui venoit:
Se Diu plaist sel deliveroit.
"Sire, conpainz, ci en vient une,
Mais ele n'est fauve ne brune.
C'est la plus bele de cest mont
De totes celes qui i sont."
Lanvaus l'oï, son cief leva;
Bien le conut si sospira.
Li sans li est montés el vis;
De parler est auques hastis:
"Par foi, dist il, ce est m'amie;
Or ne m'est gaires qui m'ocie
S'ele nen a merci de moi,
Car garis sui quant je le voi."
La pucele entra u palais;
Onque si bele n'i vint mais.
Devant le roi est descendue
Si que de tous fu bien veüe.
Son mantel a laiscié caïr
Que mius puissent son cors veïr.
Li rois, qui mout fu ensegniés,
Il s'est encontre li dreciés,
Et tout li autre se leverent
Et de li servir se penerent.
Quant il l'eurent bien esgardé
Et se biauté asses loée,
Ele parla en tel mesure
Car de demourer n'avoit cure:
"Rois, g'ai amé .i. tien vassal; [631-2]
Véés le la, segnor Lanval.
Acaisonés fu en ta cort;
Ne voeil mie que mal li tort.
De ce qu'il dist, ce saces tu,
Que la roïne a tort eü.
Onques nul ior ne le requist!
De le vantance que il fist,

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Se par moi puet estre aquités
Par vos barons soit delivrés.
Ce qu'il en gugeront par droit
Li rois octroie que si soit !"

N'i a un seul qui n'ait jugié
Que Lanvaus a tout desrainié.
Delivrés est par lor esgart,
Et la pucele s'en depart,
Ne li pot li rois retenir :
Asses ot gent a li servir !

Fors de la sale avoit on mis
Un grant peron de marbre bis
U li pesant home montoient
Qui de le cort le roi estoient ;
Lanvaus estoit montés desus.
Quant la pucele ist fors de l'uis
Sor le palefroi derier li
De plain eslais Lan. sali.
O li s'en vait en Avalon,
Ce nos racontent li Breton.
En .i. isle qui mout est biaus,
La fu ravis li damoisiaus.
Nus hom n'en oï plus parler
Ne ie n'en sai avant conter.

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Avant ala toute esfrée
Et deseur lui chaï pasmée.
Cil le reçut qui forment l'aimme;
Maleürous souvent se claimme.
Quant del pasmer fu trespassée
Il a doucement confortée:
"Bele amie, por Diu vous pri,
Alés vous ent, tolés de ci.
Senpres morrai en mi le ior.
Çaïens aura si grant dolor,
Se vos i estiies trovée,
Toute en series tormentée.
Bien ert entre ma gent seü
K'il m'ont por vostre amor perdu,
Pour vous sui dolant et pensis."
La dame li a dit: "Amis,
Mius veul ensemble o vous morir
Qu'o mon segnor painne suffrir;
S'a lui revois il m'ocira!"
Li cevaliers l'aseüra:
Un anel d'or li a baillié
Si li a dit et ensengnié:
Ia tant com ele gardera
A son segnor ne menbrera
De rien nule que faire doit
Ne ne le tenra en destroit.
S'espée li conmande et rent;
Apres le conjure et desfent
Que ia mais hom n'en soit saisis
Mais bien le gart a oes sen fis.
Quant il sera creüs et grans
Et cevaliers preus et vaillans,
A une feste u ele ira

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(Et son segnor o lui menra)
En une abeie venront;
Por une tonbe qu'i verront
Aront nouveles de sa mort
Et com il fu ocis a tort.
"Ileuc li baillerés l'espée!
L'aventure li soit contée
Com il fu nés, qui l'engendra.
Asses verront qu'il en fera!"
Quant tout li ot dit et mostré
Un cier bliaut li a doné
Si li conmanda a vestir
Puis l'a fete de lui partir.
Ele s'en va; l'anel en porte
Et l'espée qui le conforte.
A l'essue de la cité
N'eut pas demie liue alé
Quant ele oï les sains soner
Et le doel el castel lever
Por lor segnor qui se moroit;
Cele set bien que mors estoit.
De le dolor que ele en a
Quatre foiiées se pasma,
Et quant de pasmission revint
Vers le haie sa voie tint.
Dedens entra, oltre est passée;
Si s'en reva en son contrée.
Ele revint dedens sa tor
Puis i a demouré maint ior;
Ainc de cel fait ne le reta
Ne ne destrut ne ne gueta.

Ses fius fu nés et bien norris
Et bien gardés et bien servis;
Iunec le fasoient nomer,
Ens el regné n'avoit son per
Si bel, si prou ne si vaillant,
Si large ne si despendant.
Quant il fu venus en aé
A cevalier l'ont adoubé.

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En l'an meïsme que çou fu
Oiiés com lor est avenu!

A la feste Saint Aäron,
C'on celebroit a Carlion
Et en pluisors autres cités,
Li sire avoit esté mandés
Qu'il i alast o ses amis.
A la coustume du païs,
Sa femme et son fil i menast
Et ricement s'aparellast.
Ensi i vint: Alé i sont,
Mais il ne sevent u il vont.
Ensanble o aus ot .i. mescin
Quis a menés le droit cemin
Tant qu'il vindrent a .i. castel.
(En tot le siecle n'ot si bel.)
Une abeie avoit dedens
De molt religieuses gens.
Li vallés les i herbega
Ki a la feste les mena;
En la cambre qui fu l'abé
Sont bien servi et abevré.
El demain vont la messe oïr
Puis s'en voloient departir.
Li abes va a us parler,
Mout les prie de demourer:
Si lor mosterra son dortor,
Son capitle et son refroitoir;
Et, com il fut bien herbegié,
Li sire li a otroiié.

Ce ior quant il eurent disné,
As offecines sont alé.
El capitre en entrent avant;
Une tonbe trouverent grant
Couvert d'un cier paile roé
Du rice orfroi parmi bendé.
Au cief, as piés et as costés
Avoit .v. cierges alumés.

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D'or fin erent li candelier,
D'emetiste li encensier
Dont il encensoient le ior
Icele tombe a grant honor.
Cil ont demandé et enquis
A ceus qui erent du païs
De le tombe, cui ele estoit
Et ques hom fu qui i gissoit.
Cil coumencierent a plorer
Et, en plorant, a raconter
Que tc'ert li mieudres chevaliers,
Li plus fors et li plus proisiés
Li plus biaus et li plus amés
Ki jamés soit de mere nés.
De cele tere ot esté rois,
(Onques ne fu uns si cortois),
A Caruänt fu entrepris,
Por l'amor d'une dame ocis.
"Onques puis n'eümes segnor;
Ains avons atendu maint ior
Un fil qu'en la dame engenra
Si com il dist et commanda".
Quant la dame oï la novele,
A haute vois son fil apele.
"Biaus fis, fait ele, aves oï
Que Dius nous a amenés ci.
C'est vostre pere qui ci gist
Que cil viellars a tort ocist."
A tant li baille et tent l'espée
Que elle avoit lonc tans gardée.
Et quant ele ot çou conneü
Et dit de voir que ses fuis fu,
Et com il vint parler a li
Et com li ialous le traï
Et eut l'aventure contée,
Sur le tonbe caï pasmée.
Voiant eus trestous devia!
Onques puis un mot ne parla.
Quant voit ses fius que morte fu,
Au viellart a le cief tolu;

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Aleuc venga la mort son pere
A un seul cop et de sa mere.
Et lues que ce fu avenu,
Et par le cité fu seü,
A grant honor la dame ont prise
Et el sarcu posé et misse
D'alés le cors de son ami.
Dius lor face bone merchi!

Lor segnor ont fait de Iunec;
Ci fault li lais d'Eudemarec.

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CHANGES FROM THE READINGS OF THE MS. P IN *GUGEMAR*

7 il a for *oent.* 34 *ot* for *et.* 72 *mere* for *me.* 104 *angousseusement* for *angoussement.* 121 *qui* inserted. 144 *kil* for *ke* and *kil* for *ki.* 209 *maintenoit* for *maitenoit.* 213 *demesure* for *demusure.* 247-8 add *e* to participle. 311 *il* inserted. 321 *blance* omitted and *plainst* for *plaist.* 500 *descovre* for *descovrent.* 522 *lui* inserted. 563 *sil* for *cil.* 649 *pooit* for *poit.* 661 *nus* for *ne.* 679 add *e* for agreement. 727 *en* added. 827 *la* omitted. 844 *ans* added. 851 *tendrai* for *trovai.* 874 *falent* for *falet.* 882 *-e* added to participle. 833 *cest* for *ceste.* It was necessary to supply the first or last letters of lines which had been cut by the binders as follows: 235 *F,* 236 *Le,* 237 *C,* 238 *Et,* 239 *Le,* 240 *Con,* 241 *En,* 242 *Et,* 243 *Qui i,* 244 *Ne,* 341 *-e,* 342 *-e,* 343 *-ous,* 344 *-s,* 345 *-mee,* 347 *-de,* 348 *-be l'arde,* 349 *-lose,* 352 *-apele,* 379 *A,* 380 *D,* 381 *P,* 382 *T,* 383 *D,* 384 *M,* 385 *La,* 386 *Pr,* 387 *C,* 688 *-ne*

NOTES AND VARIANTS.

GUGEMAR

The beginning of the prolog in P was composed, it may be assumed, by a copyist. The second couplet coincides with that of H except that the rhyme words are *traite-faite* in H and that the indirect object pronoun is in the 3rd person instead of the 1st person. S omits the first 18 lines. It is possible to accept the reading of P but it seems most likely that the first couplet of P was added to explain the second which the scribe did not understand. The word *fraite* of P means *handled* (L. *fractum, broken up.* Meyer-Lübke, 3468).

Since S is purely and simply a general collection of lays, the prologs are naturally omitted. When prologs are superimposed upon prologs as they apparently are

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in H and P, the authorship of the entire introduction seems somewhat suspicious. The possibility that the poet herself made different versions of the lays might authenticate both P with its prosaic beginning and H with its sudden beginning and defiant ending. Certainly H has the preferable form of the prolog; P possibly has the more primitive form.

H *Oez seignurs ke dit Marie*
Ki en sun tens pas ne s'oblie

This reading is supported by G. 466 and 538. The reading of P is probably due to the scribe. It is an excellent reading except for the disfiguration of the proper name; the meaning of the subjunctive *s'oublit* is clear.

7. H. *il i ad.*

19. *li contes* of P shows the breaking down of the declension. H *les cuntes ke io sai verrai.*

27. S *Hoilas.* The well known Artus was the type king around whom Mediæval legends were being localized. Although there were many other kings mentioned in the Romance literature of the time, Arthur was, I believe, the one Marie had in mind; it is certainly he who appears in *Lanval* with the usual Arthurian attributes including his queen and her tendency towards irregularities.

31. H *Oridiaus;* S *Denoraus.*

53. In H the couplet is in inverse order and in place of *Alemagne* the reading is *Angoue.* The reading of P is supported by S. See chapter on MSS.

56. HS and previous editions admit the line: *So good a knight nor his equal* (HS si bon). It is not likely that the keenly observant Marie would be guilty of this redundancy. cf. *Nul millor trover ne son pere. Fl. and Bl.* 808.

92. H *perche;* S *cornes.* Although the "correct" form is *perche* (L. *pertica,* M.-L., 6432), the form *verce* may have been the original one, or at least it may have been in the source of the three MSS; the fact that H and S understood the word and expressed it in a different manner indicates that it was an unusual

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word; either *perche* or *cornes* would presumably have been accepted by either H or S. *Verce* being a Picard form (which Godefroy lists with a question mark only) was perfectly understood and copied by the Picard scribe of P. There is a possibility that the source of the three MSS contained a Picard form of the word.

99. HS *desk al cheval.*

100. HS *Ke tut l'estuet descendre aval. Descendre* is as acceptable as *caïr* but since the word *caïr* is used in line 96 and 101 it can be assumed that the word *descendre* is an emendation. The careful scribe of P surely would not have changed his model so as to use one word three times within 6 lines.

103. HS *nafree.*

111. H *pociun;* S *poison.*

122. H *Va t'en de ci, lais m'aver pes.* S *Va t'en de ci, lai m'en em pes.* The reading of P is the smoothest.

126. H *quele* against the older form *quel* of SP.

145-6. H alone has the couplet: *Le travers del bois est alez Un vert chemin ki l'ad menez* (See chapter on MSS.).

152. HS *choisi.*

162. HS *cuntree.*

171-2. P lacks the following couplet of HS: *Dont li pecol et li limon Furent de l'uevre Salemon.* (See chapter on MSS).

182. HS *vols fu.*

184. H le pires; SP pieres. Previous editors give the reading *li pires.* The fact that H uses the plural form of the article indicates that there is some uncertainty in the mind of the scribe. Given the popularity of precious stones in XIIth century literature it seems reasonable to assume that the reading of SP is authentic.

203-4. HS *El lit se colcha si s'en dort, Hui ad trespasse le plus fort.* (See chap. on MSS.).

221. *Mabre* for *marbre* is not unprecedented. Littré cites: *Tost les degres de mabre est montes al donjon. Sax. XIV.*

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236. HS *Les trais (trez) mostrez et la nature.* To attribute such a sophisticated intent to the mural decoration is to overlook the state of the plastic arts in the XIIth century. There were many excellent artists who dealt with symbols but only along certain traditional lines. On the other hand, paintings were commonly accompanied by inscriptions which explained the meaning of the artist. The reading of P, *les letres,* is therefore more reasonable. *Venus* is the subject of the passage, and the lines 236-8 are parenthetical.

253. H *venist.* S *meïst.* The reading of H, which has been accepted by previous editors is less direct than that of P. H reads: *Man nor woman came there nor ever went out from the wall.* In P the passage is written from the point of view of the lady: *She never saw man nor woman nor ever went outside. . .*

257. H *Les plus bas membres.* The fact that P writes *membre* in the singular means that he found it in his original; no scribe would have changed the plural to the singular in this phrase! Perhaps that reading represents the original version which Marie wrote before she knew much of human anatomy; she had read of eunuchs in Latin literature but she did not have the specific information on the subject which she had after she studied the *Espurgatoire.* There, lines 2271-2, is described a scene which was instructive to her; she translates: *Un cultel prist que il porta E ses genitailles (plural) trencha.* He would thereby deliver himself from temptation.

In S line 257 is obliterated; this and the omission in S of 241-4 is another evidence of the impurity of the MS.

262. *vergie* written without the final *r,* an indication that the *r,* which today is not even pronounced in liason, was already silent.

265. HS *ensemblë o li la meschine.* This reading has been accepted by all editions, until the 1925 Warnke edition, in spite of the reading of P and in spite of the fact that the MSS HS agree in line 74 on: *Ensemble od els a sujurne.* In his review of the Warnke edition

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(Neophilologus, XI, 141) M. Hoepffner contends that the reading of HS is the correct one.

266. HS *gardent.* (See chapter on MSS)

273. HS *qui fu sage.*

275. H *la reconforte.* S *la reconforte durement Et l'aseüre bonnement.* ....

276. HS *vont* (See chapter on MSS).

278-83 omitted in S (See chapter on MSS).

289. *nos* is Picard for *nostre* (Brunot, p. 191) cf. *vo,* G. 505.

298. HS *et dist que.* The direct discourse of P is somewhat more dramatic.

304. H *Mut en fut lez si la salue.* S *Molt par fu liez quant l'a veüe.*

306. For *plourans* m. and f. see Foulet: *Syntaxe,* par. 105.

314. HS *celerai.*

342. H *mes mut par est.* S *mes molt est vielz.*

346. HS *fors.*

348. HS *Ceo doinse Deus que mau feus l'arde.* The Norse version supports P here, exceptionally.

363. *aiüent* is a logical form from adjutáre along with *aiüe,* subst., Sp. *ayudar,* etc. cf. 462.

379. HS *Mes amur l'ot feru al vif La ert sis quors en grant estrif.* The complete change of an entire couplet for no apparent reason is puzzling. This seems to be a case of deliberate revision; moreover, a similar passage in *Lanval* (117 ss.) in which the hero feels love come over him is similarly changed. In *Lanval,* P seems to be the more primitive form. Since in *Lanval* HCS have the line: *Amurs le puint de l'estencele* and P only *Amors le point isnelement,* and since in *Lanval* HCS have the simple couplet expanded into a quatrain, I believe it is safer to accept P and regard HCS as the revised form of the two passages.

385. Warnke says (p. xiii) that none of the MSS has a clear version of this passage but P really has a comprehensible and acceptable reading. The maiden is the subject of a series of verbs: she asks permission to go, leaves as soon as she is given leave, and goes to

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her mistress. The demonstrative pronoun is used to distinguish between the one who was leaving and the one who was staying. Another example of the use of *cele* in a similar context is *Gugemar* 224, *Cele ert et nuit et ior gardee,* in a passage in which only one girl has been mentioned. cf. note on *Lan.* 360.

426. *nient* in one syllable as in 780, though usually in two. H supports the reading of P. cf. 479. The author probably did not use the word uniformly.

448. HS *Que bien iert vostre amurs assise.*

450. HS *de li penser.* The common error of *de li penser* for *por li pener* is a minor one but one which scribes would hardly make independently.

457. HS *si ieo n'ai sucurs e aïe.*

462. aiüe, cf. 363.

470. HS *l'apele* (see chap. on MSS).

490. HS have the order 491-2-489-490. They assumed that *ki* refers to *cil vilain cortois;* P puts a different interpretation on the passage: It is not love but naughtiness, wickedness and lechery *if* people make love indiscriminately and then boast of what they have done. The same use of *ki, if anyone,* is repeated in the following couplet.

515. HS *jolive.* Is this a toning down?

550. HS *vos.* The line is more meaningful with the word *vis* as P has it than with the unnecessary pronoun as it appears in HS.

551. HS *vus recoverez autre amor.* The reading of P has a very appropriate simplicity.

553. HS *Dame, fet il, nel dites mes, Ja n'aie ieo joie ne pes.* The reading of HS is clearer; that of P must be punctuated a little nicely to be comprehensible.

574. H *partir;* S *desploier.* The word *crasir* of P would probably not have been understood by the scribes of HS for it does not seem to have come down to us except in this one instance. Either of the two words used by H and S would have been immediately accepted and copied by any scribe; the inference to be drawn from the situation is that the original must have been *crasir.* The word apparently means *to break by*

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force (cf. English *crash* and Mod. French *écraser*). As there are no additional examples of its use available, we may assume that the word is an onomatopoeia which had a very limited literary usage.

589. H *il en ad fet l'us depescer;* S *il en fet les huis pecoier.*

591. S *ire.*

614. H *Il le metreit giers en la mer;* S *il le remeist en la nef.* The reading of P is acceptable for the imperfect tense used instead of the conidtional tense indicated in O. F. as in Mod. F. that the condition is regarded as practically a certainty.

649. H *peüst.* The subjunctive of H is more appropriate to indirect discourse.

661. H *Nul humme el mund ne;* S *nus hom du mont ne.* HS avoid the difficulty by using a *cheville.*

671. HS *amis si jeo puis eschaper.*

672. HS *la u vus fustes mis en mer.*

673. HS *me noierai.* The Norse version supports P. This passage was not understood by the scribe of H; S and P have different versions but S resembles H. P is clear: *If I could escape, I would go to the place where you were put on the sea.* S: *If I can escape to the place where you were put on the sea, I would drown myself.* It is difficult to choose between S and P; however, since the passage brings in the idea of drowning herself seven lines further on, it is likely that it was merely suggested by implication the first time.

712. HS *Unques a femme.* Since there is no mention of the wife of Meriadus elsewhere, the reading of P is dangerous; however, as HS often show tendencies towards a softening down it is possible that P has the authentic reading.

716. HS *Bien fu servi e honuree.* The reading of P, being a repetition of line 704, is probably a mistake.

719-20. *HS Il vait sovent a li parler Ki de bon quer la puet amer.*

749. H *Chevaliers manda e retient, Bie seit Guigemar i vient.* The attitude of Meriadus as he appears

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in H is more sophisticated than it is in SP. To act on the assumption that Gugemar would come to the tournament was very unsafe; Gugemar was the most important knight in the country and he might have had engagements in ony one of the numerous places where he was known as a brilliant fighter. SP seem more primitive. The fact that the passage immediately following explains the reading of SP and makes no sense with that of H is perhaps more tangible evidence of the acceptability of SP.

759-60. Omitted in S.

760. H *La dame meint.* H reads: *He orders his sister to dress and come to his presence and bring the lady.* P: *He orders that she dress and come to him and that the lady do likewise.* Either reading is acceptable but the context again supports P.

769. H *contre eus leva;* S *contre eles va.* H and P are clear; S is thrown out by context. H is supported by *Lanval,* 68.

772. H *traist;* S *tret.* H and S are here more acceptable than P. *estras* of P is unfamiliar but its meaning is clear. Just how it could have developed from extrá here is not obvious but even so it does not seem reasonable to discard a perfectly clear word from a MS. which was written by so careful a scribe as the one who wrote P.

773. HSP agree as in 791 on the expression *fait il;* P uses *fait il* consistently and HS vary between *fait il* and *dist il.*

780. P alone writes *nient* in one syllable as in 426.

782. HS *pur qui mis quers.* The passage is more clear-cut without the relative clause.

784. HS give *dunc.* While *dunc* is an older word, *lors* is a more exact one.

786. H *nul autre mot.* This ballad-like repetition of the business of seating her beside himself and kissing her is a trifle too negligent to be supported against the straightforward reading of SP.

799. HS *fu.* The use of the active voice of P makes the line more vigorous than the passive statement in HS.

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817-8. HS *dites moi veir Lessez mei vostre cors veeir.* In all the MSS this passage is unsatisfactory; it is not improbable that at least one couplet is missing after 818. Although HS stand together against P they do not offer an altogether acceptable reading.

848. H *suspris;* S *porris.* P contains a rare but fitting word; *aquis* is a very good reading.

856. The spelling *delans* indicates to what an extent the *open o* was pronounced forward by the scribe. (cf. *me sire,* 352; *sen,* 738; *nen,* 374.

874. H *a preuf.*

876. HS *sera.* The reading of P is here again slightly more unified; in HS the subject of the sentence changes.

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CHANGES FROM THE READING OF THE MS. P IN *LANVAL*

Line 21 add *sa.* 46 add *-ent* which had been cut off by the binder. 29 *maisniee* for *maisnie.* 52 *ne voit* for *veoit.* 53 *u il* for *ul i.* 58 *laciees* for *lacies.* 95 *lis* for *les.* 109 *il* for *et.* 119 *point* for *poist.* 239-40 add *-e* to rhyming participles. 262 *vait* for *voie.* 278 *iriee* for *irie.* 307-8 add *-e* to rhyming participles. 322 *amie* for *ami.* 327 *forment* for *formet.* 378 *la* for *sa.* 395-6 add *-e* to rhyming participles. 424 *plait* for *pait.* 488 insert *a cheval* . 512 *et* for *i* (?). 515 *bliaus* for *blaus.* 537 *ainsnee* for *ainsne.* 540 *a ues ma dame* for *aveuc vos dames.* 553 omit *le.* 560 *nen eut* for *n'eut.* 573 *bruns* for *brus.* 627 *esgardee* for *esgarde* (rhyme). 663 *nus hom* for *nus.*

NOTES AND VARIANTS
LANVAL

Line 2. HS *ele.* This reading is supported by *Fraisne,* 534.

9. HS *entroent; C le trououent.* HS give more motion to the picture than P. C is to be discarded.

17. HCS *femmes.* Since it is a woman who wrote the poem it does not seem likely that she is the one who attributed to King Arthur the habit of giving away wives. Moreover if *femmes* had been in the source of P there is no reason why the scribes should have discarded so facile a reading.

30. HCS *tot.*

39. HCS *dunt.*

47-8. HCS *s'en vait.* HC *le lait.* The context shows that *s'en vait* is not authentic, for he does not go away; he lies down beside the stream.

77. HCS *od eles.* The *aveuc* of P was already an old form at the end of the XIIth century; it appears

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in accented form in the *Chanson de Roland* 3625: *En chalcent Franc et l'emperere avoec.*

95. H *al;* C *en;* S *el.* However, all four MSS use the form *u* meaning *in* in lines 151 and 244.

100. HCS *bien fet.* The *et. . . et* construction which appears here in P is not uncommon in Marie's work though HCS have different readings here, in lines 72, 534 and 562. The MSS H and S give *et . . . et* in *Milon* 530 and in *Gugemar* 68.

110. HCS *fait.* P stands against HCS here and in lines 121, 145, 161, 275, 531 etc.

112. HCS *loins. Lains,* the form given in P, was doubtless *la enz* originally.

117-120. HCS *Il l'esgarda si la vit bele/Amurs le puint de l'estencele/Que son quor alume e esprent/Il li respunt avenantment.* See note to *Gug.* 397.

128. HCS. *tutes.* P uses prominently the pronoun of the first person here and in lines 146 and 269 while HCS avoid it.

136. HCS *Ia cele.*

152. HCS *Ceo qu'ele.*

161-2 are lacking in S. See analysis of MSS.

165. H *u nuls puist aver sa amie;* C *ou home puisse;* S *ou nus peust.* There seems to be little preference between the four readings. In line 169 the *nus hom,* nominative, recurs and sustains P both as to form and as to diction. The repetition is of course a popular Mediæval device for making a passage impressive.

168. HCS *tut vostre talent.* Such a line as the one in P could hardly be imagined as a substitute for the one in HCS; a good scribe would not have been so stupid as to throw out a fairly good line for a flat word of four syllables. The fact that the line 127 in all the MSS reads *vos comandemanz* also speaks for the reading of P.

173. H *que al;* C *k'al;* S *qui au.* One of the numerous lines in which P has a slightly smoother reading.

179. H *a suer;* C *por suer.*

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193. HCS *prend.*

199. HC *ne set que creire;* S *die.*

200. HC *Il ne la quide mie a veire;* S *avoir ia mie.* The reading of P is the most difficult.

204. HCS *nus.*

213-4. S interpolates the couplet: *L. despendoit largement,/L. donnoit or et argent.* The couplet adds nothing of real significance to the passage. The Mediæval habit of expanding enumerations is shown by a curious interpolation in the same passage in the English version of the poem of Thomas Chestre, lines 421 ss.

> Launfal helde ryche festes,
> Fifty fedde povere gestes,
> That in myschef wer;
> Fifty bought stronge stedes,
> Fifty yaf ryche wedes,
> To knyghtes and squyere,
> Fifty rewardede relygyons.
> Fifty delyverede prysouns,
> And made ham quyt and schere;
> Fifty clodede gestours,
> To many men he dede honours,
> In countreys fer and nere.

To complicate the situation, the worthy Thomas mistook the abbreviation *L.* which meant Lanval for *.L.* meaning fifty. The MS. P is remarkably free from the pernicious tendency to expand descriptive passages.

224. An adventitious *h* prefixed to the word *esbanoïier* testifies to the scribes eagerness to preserve the rhythm: he was stopping the vowel of the ending of the preceding word.

227. H *Walwains.* The English form of the name appearing in H and the French form appearing in C, which followed its original very closely, is an important indication that the poem was not originally written for an English but for a French audience.

242. HCS *La mesnie le roi (H Lanval) choisi.*

243. H *choisi.*

245. HCS *par li manda.* In the passage 242-5 the reading of H is not at all convincing, that of CS easily acceptable and that of P very difficult. The repeti-

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tion of *choisi* renders H suspicious. The fact that CS refer to Lanval and his fellows as the king's household render their reading dubious. P seems to have omitted a couplet. It is possible that the source of HCS smoothed over a break in the MS. and it is possible that the scribe of P made a poor effort to clear up an awkward passage.

272. HCS *de vus amer.* P is apparently incorrect; the scribe was expecting a substantive. However there is a similar use of the infinitive in: *Qui lor veit vostre contenir,* l. 210, *Invocation to Mary Magdalen. (Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott, Vol. I, p. 119.)*

284. HCS *deduiez.*

287. HCS *pres de.*

299. HCS *a descovert.*

307-314 omitted by S, lines 307 and 314 both beginning with the word *mout.*

332. HCS *apela.*

353. H *Oilas;* C *Allas,* S *Oiez.*

354. HCS *enveia.* This line ends a passage which has a slightly different meaning as it stands in HCS from the one it has as it appears in P. (See chapter on MSS.)

360. H *Il l'eussent ocis a lur voeil;* CS *il i serreit occis sun voil.* A badly confused line; H and CS together make a fairly satisfactory reading but P is perfectly clear as it stand in the MS. (cf. note on the word *cil* in note on *Gug.* 385.) It should be remarked that if *cil* had been in the original, the passage would probably not have been confused.

376. HCS *ne.* 384. HCS *enveiez.* The reading of P is more appropriate to court procedure than that of HCS.

404. HCS *iol vus les.* The scribes of HCS or their source apparently did not understand technical court terms. The reading of P, *ples,* was in all probability in the original.

416. HCS *que.* Perhaps the fact that Marie knew Latin very well may explain the classical turn of P in this passage.

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449. HCS *qu'a.* 462. HCS *e s'il deit cungeer de sei.* The reading of HCS is preferable to that of P. In the latter, there is a change of subject in the middle of the sentence. Such changes are of course not without precedent in the lays, for example: *Lanval* 549-50 and 604.

464. HCS *nuncie* rhyming with *envoiie.* The reading is better than the inexact rhyme *prove* furnished by P. It is, however, not impossible that Marie made a bad rhyme and that the more difficult reading of P is the authentic one.

485-6. HCS contain a couplet which is not to be found in P:

Il li a dit ne sai ki sunt
Ne dunt vienent n'u eles vunt. (See chapter on MSS.)

489. HCS *Le deis.* This reading is the easier one for it is in accordance with what is known of court customs; it is not impossible, however, that a king would have a cross over his throne or beside it particularly since it is customary to have a picture of the crucifixion in French court rooms to this day.

490. HCS *la u seeit Arthur li reis.*

492. After this line, S has the following couplet: *Cil Deus fet cler e oscur/Il salt e guart le rei Arthur.* This salutation is obviously one of the numerous expansions which the scribe of S added to the text. It throws such undue emphasis upon the king who had been unkind to Lanval that we wonder whether Marie even mentioned his name in line 490, as HCS have it, or not. The poem gains in unity by leaving aside that sort of extraneous and reiterated, conventional material.

498. HCS *ensemble.*

510. HCS *recomencerum.*

515-6 omits this couplet. (See chapter on MSS.) (cf. note on line 545.)

521. HC *Yweins.*

525. HCS *ici.*

529-30. H *nes a vuot;* C *veu nes out;* S *ne veoit.*

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HCS *ne il nes cunut ne nes amot.* P is the only MS. that gives a satisfactory version of the passage. The lines 529-32 form a quatrain rhyming in *-ues: veues, conneues, venues* and *descendues;* but since there are numerous other cases of similiarly rhyming quatrains in the work of Marie de France (*Equaitan,* 43-6, 199-202, 211-214, 277-281; *Gugemar,* 201-4; *Yonec,* 353-6 in S, etc.), it is not safe to assume for that reason that the reading of P is unauthentic.

534. HCS *de cors de vis.*

540. HCS *a ues;* P *a ueuc.* P made a mistake here; he did not understand the somewhat unusual expression *a ues* which he doubtless found in his original. cf. *Yonec* fragment, line 428 where the same error is to be noted in P.

545-6. S alone contains the ingenious couplet: *Il fu assez qui garde em prist/Et qui es estables les mist.* The very fact that the couplet 515-6 and line 544 in which the mules were mentioned are omitted and changed respectively is ample testimony, as Warnke pointed out (p. xvi), to the lack of attention on the part of the scribe of S. Earlier in the poem just before Lanval met the fairy the horse was similarly neglected.

549-50. HCS *Que le iugement seit rendus/Trop ad le ior este tenuz.* The reading of HCS is perfectly acceptable; P, however, fits the context even better. (The word *mander* could mean *send* or *order.*) For change from direct to indirect discourse see lines 462, 604 and notes to same.

554. HCS *errant.* But the entire scene which follows contains a note of increasing haste; P has therefore a more fitting reading. This is consistent with the cumulative effect noted in the chapter on MSS.

562. HS *quens ne;* C *cunte.*

563. HCS have the word *esliger* which has already appeared twice in this lay, lines 86 and 91.

567-8. S omits this along with other passages, already noted, which might possibly be considered shocking.

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574. S *il n'a si bele fame el mont.* Following this line, HCS contain a couplet which expands the description of the lady's hair: *fil d'or ne gette tel luür/ cum sun cheval cuntre le iur.* It is not possible to decide whether the couplet was in the original but the general unreliability of S condemns all its variants.

581-6. S contains here six other lines which do not appear elsewhere: *.i. gent damoisel l'adestroit/.i. cor d'ivoire o li portoit/molt vindrent bel parmi la rue/tant grant biauté ne fu veüe/en Venus qui estoit roïne/ne en Dido ne en Lavine.* These additional details about the pageantry can certainly not be considered authentic.

588. HCS *ni li viellart ne li enfant.*

589. HCS *alassent.*

592. H *meins;* S *le petit pas.* (See chapter on MSS.)

593. HCS *li iugeur qui la veeient.* The *tout li home* of P are of course the jury, for the people of the town have already been dismissed with a gesture. The reading of HCS is easier but the meaning of P is clear enough in its own context; the hasty trip through the town and into the court room is described indirectly in a series of statements as to the effect that the appearance of the fairy-lady had on people along her passage. There was no time for them to talk for she was going rapidly.

597-600. S interpolates here four more lines: *n'i ot tant viel home en la cort/que volentiers son oil n'i tort/et volentiers ne la servist/por ce que soufrir le vousist.* This interpolation as well as others of S is an expansion of a description.

604. H *qu'ele;* C *kile;* S *qu'il.*

622. HCS *Que meuz la puissent veeir.*

625-6. H *l'enurerent/de li servir se presenterent.*

631-2. S alone: *Artur, fet ele, entent a moi/e cist barun que ieo ci voi.*

654. H *venoent;* CS *aloient.*

660. Here C asserts its independence to the extent of a final couplet: *unc puis nel virent li barun/a tant fine la chauncun.*

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CHANGES FROM THE READING OF MS. P in *IUNEC*

421. *le* omitted. 425 *conmande* for *conmanda.* 428 *a oes* for *aveuc.* 457 *est* for *en.* 471 *meisme* for *mesme.* 517 *plorer* for *plore.* 533 *fis* for *fist.* 501 *ce* for *se.* 505 *couverte* for *couvert* and *cier* omitted. 525 *a Caruënt* for *et a Carnant.*

Notes and Variants

IUNEC, lines 399-558.

401-2. Omitted in S.

403. SQ *respassee;* H *de.* The reading of HP, *trespassee,* is correct and should not be thrown out as Warnke does; Godefroy cites examples of its use with the meaning it has here.

405. S *E si l'a molt amonestee.* H *merci.* This variant shows that the scribe of S is as careless in his copy of this lay as he is in the lays of *Gugemar* and *Lanval.*

406. HS *fuyes,*

407. HS *devant.*

419. HSQ *anelet.* In line 445 all the MSS. read *anel.*

421. *le* is suppressed for the meter in spite of the authority of HSPQ for *ele le.*

421-2. inverted in S.

423. HS *de nule rien qui fete seit.* The reading of P is more logical.

424. To understand the version of P in this passage we must accept a double change of subject.

427. HS *nuls hom.*

428. HSQ *a oes.* P *aveuc.* The reading of P is obviously erronious. See note to *Lanval* 532.

432. H *sun s. e lui amerra;* S *i menra;* Q *merra.* The passage is not clear in P unless we put this line in parentheses. None of the MSS has a reading which

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makes the prophecy of Yonec correspond to what actually happens at the end of the lay. The reading of HS is the easier reading.

435. HS *orrunt renouveler sa mort;* Q *la mort renouveler orront,/par la tombe d'un marbre bis,/et que il fu a tort ocis.* The reading of P shows signs of having been changed; the wide divergence between P and Q, however, indicates a difficulty further back in the MS. tradition.

437. HQ *baillerat.* The change from direct to indirect discourse of SP is not without precedent. (See note to *Lanval* 462.)

439-40. Omitted in Q.

451-2. Omitted by HS. This is a further strengthening of the kinship of P and Q.

456. H *hoge;* S *cave;* the reading of H is the more difficult and probably the original one.

459-60. H *ensemblement od sun seignur,/apres demurat meint jur;* S *ensemble vint od sun seignor;* SQ *demora maint di et maint ior.*

461. HS *que de cel ne la retta.*

462. H *ne ne mesdist ne ne garda;* S *ne ne mesdist ne ne gaba;* Q *ne ne mesdist ne ne naira.* The reading of HS is easier than that of P. The strength of HSQ against P in this passage is weakened since in 460, HP are against SQ, and in 462, HS and PQ are partially opposed.

465. HS write *Iunec* in three syllables as elsewhere.

466. H *el nun ni osa humme truver;* SQ *el regné ne pot on trover.* H is here meaningless. S, Q and P are equally acceptable.

467. H *pruz fu e beaus e vaillant.*

472. H *oez cum est avenu.* S *oiez coment est avenu.*

473. Saint Aaron must be studied more thoroughly; I am planning to study this question in a different connexion.

474. Carlion in Brittany; Kaerlion of H is not to be confused with Karliun (Castrum Legionum) in England.

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482. The literary significance of this line is such that it can not be passed over in silence. Why did they not know where they were going? Did they not know where Carlion was? Surely the church officials saw to it that the feasts of local saints were well advertised. It is probable that Saint Aaron was added to the Yonec legend by Marie and that the invitation etc. were also imagined by Marie to motivate the end of the story.

492. HS honuré; Q *envoia.* The reading of P is both more logical and more specific.

496. HS *suriurner.*

498. HS *chapitre.*

500. HS *lur.* This reading is inexact for the context.

503. HS *vindrent.*

506. H *chier;* S *chief.*

508. HSQ *vingt.* The context demands *five.* P has a somewhat ornate *.v.* which might at first seem to be a siglum for *vingt;* there was probably some doubt in the mind of the scribe.

510. HS *argent;* Q *dametistres;* N *amatiste* (according to Warnke). P again seems to have the original reading and HS to have a common correction.

513. HS *il.*

519. The *tc'ert* probably denotes the Picard pronunciation of *c* before *e.*

519-20. HS *chevalier-fier.* This is a better reading than that of P.

522. HSQ *el secle.*

524. H *nul;* S *home.* The reading of P, ***uns,*** a nominative for *huems* is difficult but still acceptable.

534. H *menez.*

536. HS *cest.*

537-8. HSQ *ore vos comant e rent s'espée/jeo l'ai asez lung tens gardee.* This version continues the direct discourse of the preceding line. The reading of P is more difficult.

539. HSQ *oianz tuz li ad coneu.*

540. HSQ *que l'engendrat e ses fiz fu.*

541. HSQ *cum il suleit venir a li.*

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542. HSQ *e cum si sires le trahi.*
543. HSQ *la verite (l'aventure) li ad cuntee.*
545. HSQ *en la paumeisun devia.*
546. H *unc puis a hume ne parla;* SQ *ainz;* Q *ni.*
548. HSQ *sun parastre.*
549. HSQ *del espeie que fu son pere.*
550. H *ad dunc vengié le doel sa mere;* S *a bien vengié lui et; Q avoit vengié lui e.*
551. HS *puis ke si fu donc avenu;* Q *puis c'ainsi estoit avenu.*
554. H *e al sarcu;* S *en un sarqueu.* QP have here the correct reading.

The fifteen lines preceding appear very differently in P and in HSQ; either version is acceptable and both seem authentic. 555, 556 and 558 do not appear in HSQ. On the other hand HSQ contain the following five lines which do not appear in P:

Ainz que il partissent d'ilec.
Cil qui ceste aventure oïrent
Lunc tens apres un lai en firent
De la pité de la dolor
Que cil suffrirent pur amur.

This divergence between the reading of P and HSQ offers an explanation of itself only at the close of the poem: Nothing could be more patently an addition than the last four lines of HSQ. When Marie brought her lays together in a book to be dedicated to the king, she made them all conform to her idea of the genre. This is one of the most important indications that P, although considerably rejuvenated in some places, represents a very early form of the lay.

558. Who is this Eudemarec? He is the father of Yonec who is called Muldamarec in H, Murdimalet in S and Nusdameret in Q.

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The bibliography is classified as follows: I. *Espurgatoire de Saint Patriz:* A. Editions, B. Studies, C. Related works. II. *Fables:* A. Editions, B. Studies of the genre, C. Source Studies. III. *Lais:* A. Editions, B. Translations, C. Source Studies, D. Literary Studies, E. Identifications and Chronology, F. Other lays than those of Marie, G. General works.

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VITA

Julian Earle Harris was born Sept. 3, 1896 near Henderson, North Carolina of Rosalie Hicks and Samuel Rogers Harris. He went through the local public schools and was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1917 with the degree of A.B. He was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa society in 1916 and received graduation Honors in Languages and Literatures, his major being English and his minors Latin and French. He was a master at the Virginia Episcopal School the following year. In May 1918 he enlisted in the Army and went to France in August.

In the fall of 1919, having returned to the United States in July, he began his graduate study in Romance Languages at Columbia University. In June 1920 he took the degree of M.A. Accepting an appointment as instructor in Extension and assistant in Columbia College he continued his residence at Columbia until 1922. At that time he received an American Field Service Fellowship at the University of Paris for two years. He was awarded the ranking of *Elève titulaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes* in 1923. In 1924 he took the position of Instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Wisconsin where he now holds an Assistant Professorship. He was married in 1928 to Elizabeth Marshall, daughter of Clara Hughes and Wm. S. Marshall of Madison. He has published articles and reviews in *Modern Language Notes, The Modern Language Journal, The French Review, The South Atlantic Quarterly, Ex Libris* (Paris), *Books* and, with Marguerite Treille, a collection of songs called *Chansons de France.*

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